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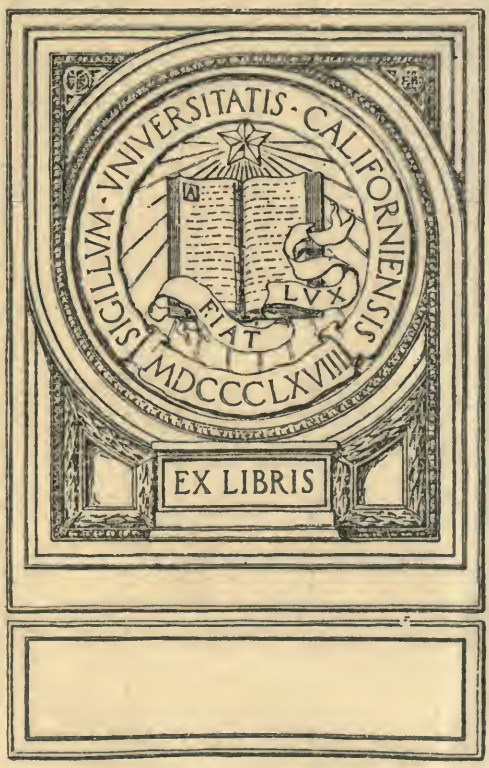

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

THE NORTHERN PARTS

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

IN

THE YEARS 1807 AND 1808.

BY EDWARD AUGUSTUS KENDALL, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

NEW-YORK:

Printed and published by I. Riley.

1809.

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DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-seventh day of October, in the thirty-fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America, ISAAC RILEY, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words and figures following, to wit:

"Travels through the Northern parts of the United States, in the "years 1807 and 1808, by Edward Augustus Kendall, Esq. in three "volumes. Volume II.

IN CONFORMITY to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by se- "curing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and "proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act, entitled, "An act, supplementary to an act, en- "titled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the "copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprie- "tors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and ex- "tending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and "etching historical and other prints."

CHARLES CLINTON,
Clerk of the District of New-York.

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

PART OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

A DRIVE of nineteen or twenty miles carried me through the large town of Gloucester, and into Providence, the capital of the republic of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. The road is level, and the soil light, and even a sand, except for the space of about three miles, in or near the confines of the town of Smithfield. In such situations, yellow and black pine form the principal growth of the forest, and, with adequate manure, maize is cultivated with success.

Soon after I had crossed the Wanaspatucket, a sandy plain presented itself, from a hollow at

the extremity of which, rise the roofs of the houses, and the spires and upper streets of Providence. Behind the village is a hill, ornamented with a very handsome church, and with the university. There is a suburb on the hither side of the Moshasic, a small river, over which a bridge leads into the principal part of the village.

The inn most esteemed in Providence is kept by one Amidon, and there I was accordingly advised to go. Arriving about the hour of nine in the forenoon, I asked for breakfast. Mr. Amidon replied by saying, " Breakfast is almost " through ;" and on my pressing the question, he added, that " He did not know how it would " operate." Both these answers were given with a slow utterance and even tone of voice, such as greatly increased what I thought their ridicule. Reduced into English, they meant, first, that breakfast was almost over; and secondly, that he did not know whether the house could or could not conveniently afford me a breakfast.

I had already acquired so much acquaintance with this provincial phraseology, and provincial manner of answering questions, as to be at no loss for the meaning of my host; and passing into the house, where I found a large table, with the wreck of the breakfast that was *through*,

I was at length courteously indulged with a breakfast for myself.

My wants were equally ill-timed on the morning of my departure. It was about six o'clock when I prepared to leave Mr. Amidon's; and I confess that I had not promised myself (what nevertheless is most agreeable to me) to breakfast before setting out. Discovering, however, in the kitchen, while I was paying Mrs. Amidon her bill, that two or three kettles were already boiling, I became unreasonable enough to ask, whether or not I could have some tea? but I received for answer the words, "Not at *this* "time of the day!"

Providence and its plantations lie on the west side of Narragansett Bay; and in the bay is Rhode Island, a valuable part of the territory of the republic. The bay is small, or rather it is a large inlet, in which there are several islands, with intermediate channels. Rhode Island, which its first settlers intended to be called the Isle of Rhodes, is the most considerable of these islands; and the channels which separate it from the main land are in some parts less than a mile in width, and in one, not more than half that distance. In Rhode Island is the harbour of Newport, which supports the large village of that name. There is no city in the republic; and the *towns* are of the description already ex-

plained. The town of Gloucester is a tract of about a hundred and thirty square miles.

Between Providence and Newport sloops continually pass, with freight and passengers; but I passed from one to the other by land, except that I crossed the ferry at Bristol. The road runs through the town of Rehoboth, in Massachusetts, and thence again into Providence Plantations, where the towns of Warren and Bristol, situate on Bristol Neck, lead to Rhode Island. In both these towns there are populous villages of the same names. Warren and Bristol have also each a port of entry and a bank; and in Warren there is a marine insurance office. Warren does much business in ship-building, and is actively engaged in the West India trade. Bristol has a commodious harbour and rich soil, and raises onions, and other culinary vegetables, for exportation: it is also the county-town. In 1790, Warren contained 1122 inhabitants, including twenty-two slaves; and Bristol 1406 inhabitants, including sixty-four slaves. The whole county, which comprehends only the additional town of Barrington, at the same time contained 3211 inhabitants, including ninety-eight slaves; and, in 1800, it contained 3801 inhabitants, including forty-six slaves; the increase of the first, in ten years, being five hun-

dred and ninety, or less than one sixth; and the decrease of the latter, in the same period, fifty two, or nearly one half.

Between the southernmost point of the peninsula called Bristol Neck, and a northern projection of Rhode Island, is Bristol Ferry, of which the width is about three quarters of a mile. On the east side of the peninsula is a mountain, (almost the only one in the republic,) called Mount Hope, and Mount Haup. If the derivation is really from an Indian name, it is probably *Montaup*. A point of land on Long Island is called *Montaug*. The summit of Mount Hope terminates in a single peak; and this the Indians describe by *monad*, in which is the first syllable of *Montaup:* hence *Monadnoc*, the name of two mountains on the Connecticut; *monad nac*, one or a single peak. Mount Hope is celebrated, in the history of New England, for the death of Philip, the chief of the Narragansett Indians.

The land on Rhode Island is high and hilly, covered with fine pastures, and possessing, beneath the surface, a variety, if not of mineral treasures, at least of geological rarities. Ascending from the water's edge at the ferry, the road is presently seen to be black with coal; but this coal is of a stony substance, and I have not heard of any contiguous, of a valuable quality. It is usually mixed with quartz.

I took the road which leads through the centre of the island, and which is on the highest ground. The lands are for the most part without wood, and the prospect sometimes extends to the arms of the sea, on both sides of the island. Here, other islands diversify the scene, and render it eminently beautiful. The average breadth of the island is about three miles and a half, and its length fifteen. On the heights are some remains of military works.

In the town of Portsmouth, which engrosses all the northern part of the island, the top of a hill, on the turnpike-road, is decorated with a gate or toll-house of brick, of two stories, and part of the rooms of which are supported by an arch that is thrown over the road. Beyond this edifice, which is seen at a considerable distance, is a small public-house, at which I rested during the heat of noon.

The lands on this island, which are rich and dear, are often divided into much smaller portions than is usual in the United States in general; but they are then employed in raising culinary vegetables, for the consumption of Newport and more distant places. Fifty, twenty, and even ten acres, are in many instances the extent of a farm, or rather garden-ground. The agricultural wealth of Rhode Isl-

and is in its sheep, cattle and horses, of the first of which it feeds many thousands.

The soil, climate and aspect of Rhode Island, have been described as among the finest, most charming, and most captivating in the world; but in the last particular its pretensions are considered as destroyed, by the loss of its woods, which were cut down by the troops for forage, during the rebellion. Young forests are however again advancing; but the progress of population and agriculture will probably forbid the free return of the dryads. That soil, which is one of the other boasts of the island, and that situation, of which the progress of wealth and industry are always increasing the advantages, must render it very unadvisable to cover the lands with a mere growth of wood.

Passing through Middletown, in which there are some handsome farm-houses, and leaving on the left the residence of a Mr. Eylum, a principal inhabitant of the island, Newport soon discovers itself to the west, and the road begins to descend toward the harbour in which it is built. This entrance of the village is handsome, the street being broad, and the houses and churches well built. On the right, on lofty eminences, are some extensive field-works, thrown up on the same occasion with the rest.

Newport has many streets, of which that next the water, called Front or Water-street, is a mile in length. This is narrow, and the least agreeable in appearance of the whole; but it is the seat of business: it is contiguous to the harbour, and contains the marine-insurance office. The number of houses, in Newport, is said to be about a thousand, and that of the inhabitants about seven thousand.

The public buildings are numerous; but a part of these, together with most of the dwelling-houses, are of wood. The state-house is of brick, and placed in a commanding situation, on the summit of a broad and paved parade, which descends gradually toward the water. At its foot, a long pier projects into the harbour.

There are ten churches and other places of public worship, comprehending four anabaptist churches, two congregational, one of the church of England, and one Moravian; one meeting-house for quakers, and a synagogue, for Jews. The synagogue, which has some architectural merit, was designed by Mr. Harrison, an English gentleman, from whose pencil also proceeded the designs for several of the other buildings. Adjoining the synagogue is a school for the education of the children of its members. A building of Grecian architecture contains the public library.

Newport has respectable schools for the youth of both sexes. For boys, there is one in which the languages are taught, under the care of a rector and tutors. The public library is supported by a literary-society. There is an incorporated association in Newport, called The Marine Society, established in the year 1752, for the relief of the widows and orphans of decayed members.

The harbour, which can commodiously receive the greatest navy, is defended by an island, called Goat Island, on which is a fort, in good condition, and garrisoned by the United States, called Fort Washington. At the entrance of the harbour, on the south end of an island called Canonicut Island, there is an excellent light-house, erected in 1749. It stands upon ground of which the level is twelve feet above the water; and the height of the building, measured from its base to the top of the lanthorn, is sixty-nine feet.

Newport is a town of much notoriety, for which it is partly indebted to its situation, between New York and Boston; the common mode of travelling being that of passing by one of the packets, (of which there are several, with the best accommodations,) between New York and New-

port, and thence, for the remainder of the distance, by land. It is also admired for its harbour, its situation, and its luxurious and abundant fish-market; and the town, along with the island at large, is allowed to possess more than a common share of beautiful women: it has also some wealthy and very respectable inhabitants, among whom is to be distinguished Colonel Gibbs, a gentleman who unites, with other good qualities, an earnest pursuit of literature and knowledge.

With all its advantages, however, Newport is in the rare situation, in these countries, of continual decline. It suffered much during the revolution; and since that period, a lucrative, but detestable portion of its trade (the trade in slaves) has been suppressed, by the act of congress prohibiting that pursuit throughout the United States.—A quaker gentleman, in no very distant part of the country, alluding to the narrow street already mentioned, and to the fogs which daily rise from the sea, and envelope all the place, assured me, that he never saw the streets of Newport, dark, and dull for want of trade, without fancying that the gloom was the gloom of guilt, deepening over a city of slave-traders.

This guilt, is washing away; and the future wealth of Newport will be derived

through less odious channels. Meanwhile, as above intimated, the prospects of that wealth are not the brightest. The produce of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations is inconsiderable; and Providence is a powerful commercial rival. Manufactures have therefore been spoken of, in which the rich might invest their capital, and the poor obtain employment; for neither rich nor poor are wanting in this place. Manufactures are established in and near Providence; but they are such as have the benefit of machinery, as the machinery has of mill-seats. Whether Newport can engage even in this struggle may be doubted; for she is without these natural advantages. A manufactory of duck and cotton was established here a few years ago; but its success does not appear to have given it any considerable notoriety.

On the shore, to the eastward of Newport, and in the town of Middletown, is a chasm in the rocks, to which is given the name of Purgatory. The elevation of the rocks, from the surface of the water, is about forty feet, and the greatest breadth of the chasm, about twelve. Its length is perhaps seventy feet. At its mouth, which is open to the sea, when the winds blow, or the tide rises, the waves continually break; and, as there is no outlet at the opposite extremity, they also

continually return. The counter-currents detain within the chasm any floating substance that happens to be received there, driving it by their motion to and fro; and this phenomenon (certainly a very humble one) has given rise to the name of Purgatory. But, invention and romance have ventured a little further, in distinguishing this marvellous spot; and a place is shown, on the irregular surface of the rocks above, where *the devil killed a squaw*, (or Indian woman,) and, dragging her to the summit, thence *threw her into Purgatory.*

To what source we are indebted for this facetious tradition, it has not happened to me to learn; or which of the two has had the larger share in its putting together, the superstitions of the Indians, or the superstitions of their English successors. The Indians knew nothing, till the English told them, either of purgatory, or of the devil; and why, when the settlers imparted their derision of the one, and their fear of the other, a poor Indian woman should have become the victim of both, it may not be easy to discover. The devil, (that is, Satan,) or the devils, (that is, the other fallen angels,) undoubtedly attended the settlers to New England, and showed them, in their asylum, many of the usual devil's tricks; but whether the tragedy in question took place before or after the arrival of the latter, is not par-

ticularly related. The period is less doubtful, in an affair equally certain, but less frightful, which happened, as I think, in Duxbury, or some neighbouring town, in the ancient colony of Plymouth.

There, a solid gentleman, being on his journey homeward, saw, walking before him, on the highway, a black man, in whose person he discovered a neighbour's slave. Thinking to ask some useful question, as whether he could borrow a yoke of oxen or a plough; or indulge some rational curiosity, as to whether the family had *done their corn-planting*, or other labour of that sort, he began by calling to the black, saying, with proper audibleness, "Timothy!"—in which, as I conjecture, it is important to observe, that he used the slave's baptismal name. Be this, however, as it may, the name was no sooner pronounced, than the pretended slave scampered out of the road, and, leaping upon the rocks, first stood on his head for a minute, and then vanished. The places, where the impostor rested his head and hands, are conspicuous to this day. The finger-marks are not larger than the spokes of a waggon-wheel, nor the head-place, than its circumference.

Not so soon, however, to escape from Purgatory, I shall go back to Middletown, and examine more particularly the features and physical

history of the wonder. The place is a rocky steep, in some parts of considerable elevation. The rock is of a pudding-stone, in which indurated clay is the principal ingredient. Chasms and perpendicular fractures are common in all rocks of this description; and the fractures are not ragged and broken, but have the same smoothness that belongs to the wound of a sharp axe, inflicted on the trunk of a tree. What is more remarkable, the siliceous pebbles, of all sizes, that enter into their composition, break with them, in the same direction, and with the same smoothness. Hence the existence of this chasm; hence its form; and hence an appearance, more singular than all the rest: for the sides of the chasm, deep, broad and long, as they are, and formed as with the single stroke of a giant's axe, are not of uniform masses, but made up of the faces of divided pebbles, with interstices, that are either hollow, or else filled with indurated clay; the comparison being strict, between this appearance, and that of the end of a pile of logs, of different diameters, all of which should be smoothly cut, and regularly placed.

But, the same conformation, and the same accidents, belonging to this species of rock, have given occasion to small chasms, cuts or gashes, not more than twelve feet in length, at a

spot removed from the brink of purgatory, and which are cuts or gashes given by the devil's axe, when he aimed at the squaw's neck, but through her struggling, missed it. The place where the squaw struggled is also plain; and the history, of this too, is plain. It is a hollow in the upper surface of the rock, of about eight or ten feet diameter; the depth is only of a few inches, but it is smooth, while the surrounding surface is rugged; and from this hollow, a stripe, of a few feet in breadth, equally smooth, and in like manner hollowed, stretches up the declivity of the rocks, and to the very edge of Purgatory. It was along this stripe, that the devil, having at length cut off the squaw's head, dragged the body to the place from which he threw it into the water. The explanation is this:

The indurated clay, which forms the main substance of the rock, is in most places thickly studded with siliceous pebbles; but, in some portions and veins, it has no pebbles at all. Where there are pebbles, the surface of the rock is rendered knubbly and rough by their rounded projections; but, where there are none, it is smooth: moreover, the siliceous pebbles resist, with greater obstinacy than the indurated clay, the action of the water which so often runs over these rocks, and especially down the declivity of which we are now speaking; and hence, not only the

interstices of indurated clay, which separate the pebbles, are worn away, and the irregularity of that part of the surface increased; but so much of the rocks as have no pebbles, is continually smoothed, and as it were polished, at the same time, and by the same cause.—Purgatory is so far a conspicuous place, that I found it with facility, though alone, and with but a slight direction.

Upon these rocks, as it is said, or upon others near adjacent, Dean Berkeley, the author of the Minute Philosopher, once proposed to build a commercial town, of the prosperity of which he had high expectations. The dean had provided himself with a small wooden house, on the contiguous beach, where he lived, and whence he commanded a view of the ocean and the rocks, and contemplated, in the pictures formed by his imagination, the future greatness of the place. He had brought with him one Smibert, a designer; and the artist amusing himself one day, by asking the dean some ludicrous question, as to the future importance of the place, "Truly," replied the projector, "you have very little fore-"sight; for, in fifty years time, every foot of "land, in this place, will be as valuable as the "land in Cheapside."—As the situation was confessedly a little of an exposed one for shipping, he designed to cut a road through the

sands to the east of Purgatory, by which, in bad weather, they might come behind the rocks for shelter.

In the wooden house that he built for himself, he is said to have composed his Minute Philosopher. "His library," says a traveller, who saw it about the year 1760, "is converted into a "dairy." When he left America, he gave the house, together with part of his library, to the college at Newhaven; bestowing the other part of his library on Harvard College in Massachusetts.*

On the beach, before I left it, a fog rose from the sea, obscuring all the objects around. Similar fogs invade the streets of Newport, particularly in the evenings, advancing, at sunset, in visible columns. The clothes and the hair, become, not only damp, but wet; the plaits in linen relax, and all the pride of the laundress disappears: what might seem worse, there is no tissue-paper, nor no curling-tongs, that can save from the mischief the ringlets of the fair! But the fair are indemnified, as it is said, in the

* Travels through the Middle Settlements of North America, in the years 1759 and 1760, &c. By the Rev. Andrew Burnaby, A.M. &c. Second edition. London, 1775.

charms of skin and complexion, which these fogs produce at Newport; and this at least I witnessed, that while a stranger might pardonably have put on a second coat for his protection, the young ladies of Newport walked in small parties in the streets, without any outdoor covering on their shoulders, and with no covering, save their tresses, on their heads. Their tresses were kept up with ornamented combs, such as are fashionable in Europe, and such as are worn by every girl in the United States, even though, at the same time, she wear neither shoes nor stockings.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Rhode Island, &c.—Providence.

I RETURNED to Providence only in part by the road by which I went. In leaving Newport, I took the road on the west side of the island, on which the lands are lower than on the middle road, and also more sheltered. This road, like the other, leads to Bristol Ferry.

On the east side of the island, at a ferry, called Howland's Ferry, a bridge will shortly be com-

pleted, of peculiar, and apparently well-imagined construction, and by which a communication will be established with the town of Tiverton, on the main land. In 1795, a bridge was built, of nine thousand feet in length, thirty-six in breadth, and forty-two piers; and in the middle was a drawbridge, made to slide, and of such a construction as to be moved by one person with ease. This bridge, however, thus thrown over an arm of the sea, was after a few years destroyed by a storm; but that which is now finishing will bid defiance, as it is thought, to the elements. The plan adopted is, to raise a causey or embankment of stone across the whole channel, with the exception of the drawbridge. This embankment, which is at least forty feet broad at the top, and much more at the base, is raised to a proportionable height; and much confidence is placed in its duration from this circumstance, among others, that the course of the sea once arrested, the waves themselves will afterward throw up materials, to increase, rather than diminish, the thickness and the strength of the work. No repairs, therefore, as it is calculated, are ever to be wanting to this part of the undertaking; and the stock invested is consequently supposed to promise to the proprietors the full dividend allowed by law.

From the village of Warren, I took a road which lies to the eastward of that by which I had come from Providence, and which is therefore nearer to the shore of Narragansett Bay. Much of it is through woods, in a deep sandy soil. Ten miles brought me to Providence. The whole distance, from Providence to Newport, exceeds thirty.

Most of the streets in Newport and Providence are paved. Those of the latter lie both on the east and west banks of the Wanaspatucket, which, after spreading itself into a broad bason behind the village, where it receives the Moshasic, and afterward joins the Patucket, by a narrow channel. Over this channel is a bridge, formerly called Weybossett bridge, on account of a hill of that name, on the east bank, and to the foot of which it reached. The hill is now levelled, and the common name is the Great bridge. Its length is a hundred and sixty feet, and its width twenty-two. There is a very pleasing ride, round the bason of the Wanaspatucket, in which, after leaving a street which runs to the westward, where a large number of new buildings are now erecting, and beyond which is a small-pox hospital, the road leads through woods and meads, ornamented with water, and having the buildings of the village in the back ground. That part of the village, which is on

the west of the bridge, is called Westminster. On the eastern side of the river are the older and more populous streets, and all the principal public buildings.

In the lower or main street is a large anabaptist church, eighty feet square, with a lofty spire, and a bell cast in the town of Scituate; and near this church is a large and well-built quaker meeting-house. Besides these, there are three congregational churches, and one church of the church of England. In the design of one of the congregational churches, built on high ground in the upper street, much attention has been paid to beauty, and the effect produced is very pleasing. The west end of the cathedral church of Saint Paul, in the city of London, is the model on which it is formed, and from which as much of the pomp of architecture has been imitated, as the small dimensions of the copy may have justified.

The state-house is a handsome building, seventy feet in length, by forty in breadth. In the chamber of the representatives, as well as that devoted to the courts of justice, is a large gallery, for the accommodation of strangers; and in the council-room is a picture of General Washington, copied, like the others that I have mentioned, by the original painter. These pic-

tures, with their frames, have generally cost the governments, by which they have been purchased, from nine to twelve hundred dollars each. In the same room, is a town and country library, supported by subscription.

Upon ground still higher than that on which is the church whose architecture I have praised, is Brown University, formerly called Rhode Island College, a plain building, of a brown-coloured brick, three hundred and fifty feet in front, forty-six in depth on each wing, and sixty-six in the centre. The number of chambers for students is forty-eight, and there are ten large public rooms. At the commencement for the present year, there were twenty-six graduates. The expenses of education are at least as low at this college, as that of Connecticut.

Brown University was founded in the year 1764, by the colonial assembly, by the name of the "College or University in the English Co-"lony of Rhode Island and Providence Planta-"tions." It was then planted in Warren, where, in 1769, the first commencement was held. In 1770, it was removed to Providence, where the present building was erected, chiefly by the contributions of the inhabitants of that village. At the commencement in 1804, Nicholas Brown, Esquire, presented the corporation with the sum of five thousand dollars, as a

foundation for a professorship of oratory and belles-lettres; and a clause in the charter having provided, that the name of some great benefactor, when such a one should appear, might be made the name of the college, the college or university is now denominated Brown University.

From the provisions of the charter of this college may be learned the respective strength of religious sects in the republic, and the union in which they live together. The number of trustees is fixed at thirty-six; and of these twenty-two must be *anabaptists;* five must be quakers; five of the church of England; and four, congregationalists. The president must be an *anabaptist;* but the professors and tutors may be of any other persuasion.

On the same level with the university are several handsome private houses, as there also are in the low grounds, lying between the village and the Patucket. Over the Patucket, on the road to Rehoboth, a bridge is at present building; meanwhile, the communication is by a rope-ferry.

The republic abounds in incorporated banks, and Providence alone has three. Two, in Warren and Bristol have been mentioned, and there are two in Newport; there is also one in a town called Westerly, one in Smithfield, and one in Gloucester. In connection with this list, it will be

proper to remark, that the whole territory is estimated at thirteen hundred square miles; that the whole population, in 1800, was 69,122, or less than seventy thousand souls; that the tonnage amounts to about twenty-seven thousand tons; the vessels annually cleared out from all the ports, to about six hundred in number; and that the exports to foreign countries, in 1804, amounted to 1,735,671 dollars.

The banks, in Providence, are the Providence Bank, incorporated in 1791, and possessing a capital stock of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, held in six hundred and twenty-five shares, of four hundred dollars each; the Rhode Island Bank, of which the capital stock is one hundred thousand dollars, in five hundred shares, of two hundred dollars each, with power to increase it as far as five hundred thousand dollars; and the Roger-Williams Bank, of which the capital is dollars, in shares of dollars each. The marine insurance companies are not less flourishing here, than in the other sea-ports of the United States. To one of them there belongs a capital stock of thirty thousand dollars in shares subscribed for and enjoyed under the circumstances that follow. Thirty proprietors have executed bonds, rendering themselves liable for a thousand dollars each. These bonds, deposited in the coffers of the com-

pany are its only stock. In the commencement, a small per-centage was called for, in order to provide an office, and pens and ink; but this has been returned; and though it so happened that some losses accrued, on the risks of the first year, yet no further payment has ever been asked for, and large dividends, at least equal to those ascribed to the Newhaven insurers, have been divided by stockholders who have at no time advanced any thing more than their responsibility.

Providence has a coasting and domestic trade with Massachusetts, Connecticut and part of Vermont; and a foreign trade with the West Indies, Europe and the East Indies, and China. A vessel of nine hundred and fifty tons has been built and fitted out at Providence, for the Asiatic seas.

In 1800, the town of Providence contained 7,614 souls. In 1790, the number was 6,380.

The streets have a busy and thriving appearance, and the group of buildings, viewed in most directions, composes a very agreeable picture; but their situation, on the low banks of a river, and with an atmosphere confined by the hills on the east, is not very favourable to its health.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Rhode Island, &c.—Manufactures.

MANUFACTURES of various kinds have been long established in Providence, and its neighbourhood; and they are advancing in several other towns. Jeans, fustians, thicksetts, velvets and other falnis are manufactured in Providence, and exported thence to the southern parts of the United States; and large quantities of linen and *tow-cloth* are made in interior towns for exportation. Manufactures in iron are prosecuted in a variety of branches, and considerable extent; and to these are to be added the manufactures of rum and other ardent spirits; chocolate, paper, wool and cotton-cards, and other articles; and the manufactures for domestic use, such as are common throughout the United States.

Patucket, a village four miles to the northeast of Providence, and seated on the river whence it derives its name, is dependent wholly on manufactures. This settlement has grown up on the

banks of a cataract, called Patucket Falls, affording situations for very numerous mills. Here, in 1760, according to the traveller, whom I lately cited, there were *two or three mills;* but so long ago as 1796, there were three anchor-forges, one tan-mill, one flower-mill, one slitting-mill, three snuff-mills, one oil-mill, one cotton-manufactory, three fulling-mills, two machines for cutting nails, and a clothier's works, in which the shearing was performed by water; and the number and extent of these establishments are now increased.

Advantage has been taken of the mass of rocks which here crosses the stream, for supporting a bridge, which is therefore built directly over the cataract. This bridge unites the territories of Massachusetts and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, of which the river is here the reciprocal boundary. The Falls of the Patucket are highly spoken of, for their natural beauties, but either from the unfavourable weather that prevailed, at the time I passed them, or from that destruction of the picturesque, which must necessarily follow from what is above related; from one of these causes, or perhaps from both, I received no impressions of this kind.

The soil, on both sides of Patucket Falls, is sandy; and this description, it will be remarked, has belonged to almost every part of the Provi-

dence Plantations, through which I happened to pass. It is otherwise, however, not only in some portion of the country that I saw, but in a very large one of that which I did not. Toward the coast, the surface is rocky, and the soil strong, as it is in Connecticut; and in these districts there are many wealthy farmers, by whom large cattle are fatted, and butter and cheese prepared for exportation. Among the natural forest-trees, are the button-wood or occidental plane, the spruce-fir, and the locust-tree, or pseudo-acacia.

I have accidentally applied, in the preceding chapter, the name of *Patucket** to a portion of the river which the inhabitants more commonly call the *Seekonk*, or, after their manner, *Seekonk River*. The mistake, however, is more properly theirs than mine; for there is no good reason, why the lower part of the Patucket should receive, as it does, the name of a little river, which happens there to become its tributary. The occasion appears to be this, that the settlers were first acquainted with the river which they called the Seekonk, and sometimes the Saconnet; and knew the Patucket only at the place of its confluence with the Seekonk. From an Indian, I learned, that *Patucket* or *Patigghet* implies *a river that falls into another*

* Written also Pautucket, Pawtucket and Pantucket.

river. Upon my asking for an explanation of *Wanaspatucket*, he first inquired, whether the river that bore this name did not make a bend, or as it were *come round*, near its entrance into another river, and which, as he said, would be expressed by *Wouni*, *Wuni* or *Wini patigghet*. The description is strictly applicable. The Patucket is also called Narragansett River; and, on its upper part, Blackstone's River.

The civil and religious institutions of this republic differ materially from those of Connecticut, particularly as to the maintenance of a clergy and public schools; for neither of which is there any provision by law. In one particular, however, it has pursued a similar conduct—that of retaining its colonial charter, as the basis or constitution of its existing government. This charter, which is of the date of 1653, was granted, like that of Connecticut, by Charles II. The words of the preamble are as follows:

" CHARLES the Second, by the grace of God, " king of England, Scotland, France and Ire- " land, defender of the faith, &c. To all to " whom these presents shall come, *Greeting.*— " Whereas We have been informed, by the " humble petition of our trusty and well-be- " loved subject, John Clarke, on the behalf of

" Benjamin Arnold,* William Brenton, William
" Coddington, Nicholas Easton, William Boul-
" ston, John Porter, John Smith, Samuel Gor-
" ton, John Weekes, Roger Williams, Thomas
" Olney, Gregory Dexter, John Cogeshall,
" Joseph Clarke, Randall Holden, John Greene,
" John Roome, Samuel Wildbore, William
" Field, James Barker, Richard Tew, Thomas
" Harris, and William Dyre, and the rest of the
" purchasers and free inhabitants of our island
" called Rhode Island, and the rest of the colony
" of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett
" Bay, in New England, in America, That
" they, pursuing, with peaceable and loyal
" minds, their sober, serious and religious in-
" tentions, of godly edifying themselves and
" one another, in the holy Christian faith and
" worship, as they were persuaded; together
" with the gaining over and conversion of the
" poor ignorant Indian natives, in those parts of
" America, to the sincere profession and obe-
" dience of the same faith and worship, did, not
" only by the consent and good encouragement
" of our royal progenitors, transport themselves
" out of this kingdom of England into America;
" but also, since their arrival there, after their

* In other parts of the charter repeatedly printed *Benedict* Arnold.

" first settlement amongst other our subjects in
" those parts, for the avoiding of discord, and
" those many evils which were likely to ensue
" upon some of those our subjects not being
" able to bear, in these remote parts, their different
" apprehensions in religious concernments; and
" in pursuance of the aforesaid ends, did once
" again leave their desirable stations and habita-
" tions, and, with excessive labour and travel,
" hazard and charge, did transplant themselves
" into the midst of the Indian natives, who, as
" we are informed, are the most potent princes
" and people of all that country; where, by the
" good Providence of God, from whom the plan-
" tations have taken their name, upon their la-
" bour and industry, they have not only been
" preserved to admiration, but have encreased
" and prospered, and are seized and possessed,
" by purchase and consent of the said natives,
" to their full content, of such lands, islands,
" rivers, harbours and roads, as are very conve-
" nient, both for plantations, and also for building
" of ships, supply of pipe staves, and other mer-
" chandize; and which lie very commodious, in
" many respects, for commerce, and to accom-
" modate our southern plantations, and may
" much advance the trade of this our realm, and
" greatly enlarge the territories thereof; they
" having, by near neighbourhood to, and friendly

" society with, the great body of the Narragan-
" sett Indians, given them encouragement, of
" their own accord, to subject themselves, their
" people and lands, unto us; whereby, as is
" hoped, there may, in time, by the blessing of
" God upon their endeavours, be laid a sure
" foundation of happiness to all America: *And*
" *Whereas*, in their humble address, they
" have freely declared, That it is much on their
" hearts, (if they may be permitted,) to hold
" forth a lively experiment, that a most flourish-
" ing civil state may stand and best be maintain-
" ed, and that among our English subjects, with
" a full liberty in religious concernments; and
" that true piety, rightly grounded upon gospel-
" principles, will give the best and greatest se-
" curity to sovereignty, and will lay in the
" hearts of men the strongest obligations to
" true loyalty: *Now know ye*, That we, being
" willing to encourage the hopeful under-
" takings of our said loyal and loving subjects,
" and to secure them in the free exercise and
" enjoyment of all their civil and religious
" rights, appertaining to them, as our loving
" subjects; and to preserve unto them that liberty,
" in the true Christian faith and worship of God,
" which they have sought with so much travel,
" and with peaceable minds, and loyal subjec-
" tion to our royal progenitors and ourselves,

" to enjoy: And because some of the people and
" inhabitants of the same colony cannot, in their
" private opinions, conform to the public exer-
" cise of religion, according to the liturgy, forms
" and ceremonies of the church of England, or
" take or subscribe the oaths and articles made
" and established in that behalf; and for that the
" same, by reason of the remote distances of
" those places, will, (as we hope,) be no breach
" of the unity and uniformity established in this
" nation: Have therefore thought fit, and do
" hereby publish, grant, ordain and declare, That
" our royal will and pleasure is, that no person
" within the said colony, at any time hereafter,
" shall be any wise molested, punished, disqui-
" eted, or called in question, for any differences
" in opinion in matters of religion, and do not
" actually disturb the civil peace of our said
" colony; but that all and every person and
" persons may, from time to time, and at all
" times hereafter, freely and fully have and en-
" joy his and their own judgments and con-
" sciences, in matters of religious concernments,
" throughout the tract of land hereafter men-
" tioned, they behaving themselves peaceably
" and quietly, and not using this liberty to li-
" centiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil
" injury or outward disturbance of others: Any
" law, statute or clause, therein contained, or to

" be contained, usage or custom of this realm,
" to the contrary hereof, in any wise, notwith-
" standing. And that they may be in the better
" capacity to defend themselves, in their just
" rights and liberties, against all the enemies of
" the Christian faith, and others in all respects;
" We have further thought fit, and at the hum-
" ble petition of the persons aforesaid are gra-
" ciously pleased to declare, That they shall have
" and enjoy the benefit of our late act of indem-
" nity and free pardon, as the rest of our sub-
" jects in other our dominions and territories
" have;* and to create and make them a body
" politic or corporate, with the powers and pri-
" vileges herein after mentioned. And accord-
" ingly our will and pleasure is, and of our es-
" pecial grace, certain knowledge, and meer
" motion, *We have ordained, constituted and de-*
" *clared*, and by these presents, for us, our
" heirs and successors, do ordain, constitute and
" declare, That they, the said William Brenton,
" William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, Bene-
" dict Arnold, William Boulston, John Porter,
" Samuel Gorton, John Smith, John Weekes,
" Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, Gregory
" Dexter, John Cogeshall, Joseph Clarke, Ran-

* On account of their acknowldgment of the usurpation of Cromwell.

" dall Holden, John Greene, John Roome, " William Dyre, Samuel Wildbore, Richard " Tew, William Field, Thomas Harris, James " Barker, —— Rainsborrow, —— Williams, " and John Nickson, and all such others as now " are, or hereafter shall be, admitted and made " free of the Company and Society of our " Colony of Providence Plantations, in the Nar- " ragansett Bay, in New England, shall be, " from time to time, and forever hereafter, a " body corporate and politic, in fact and name, " by the name of the Governor and Company " of the English colony of Rhode Island and " Providence Plantations, in New England, in " America."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Massachusetts—Plymouth.

A BROAD road, of the best quality, leads from Providence to Boston, a distance of something more than forty miles. The country is hilly, well settled and cheerful; and if the farms, as is uniformly allowed, are not cultivated upon such a system as to obtain the greatest possible advantage from the land, at least the fences are in the best order, and the farm-

houses (which are almost universally of wood, and painted either white or yellow) are frequently large, well built, and generally well furnished. It was now the middle of July; and the meadows were ornamented with the flowers of the lobelia, of a brilliant scarlet colour.

Boston, on which ever side it is approached, makes a very striking appearance in the landscape. The ground on which it is built is uneven; and on one of the hills is the new state-house, an edifice which, by its elevation, and by the dome that is on its roof, crowns in the happiest manner all the buildings that lie low, and that form the base of the pyramid of which the statehouse is the apex. Boston is seated on a small peninsula, which projects to the north-east; and the main streets are approached, from Providence, by a very wide one, running on the neck of land, and in part paved, and in part lined with buildings.

To the south-east of Boston, distant about forty miles, is Plymouth, the oldest of the settlements in New England, and hence, in Boston, commonly known by the name of the *Old Colony*. Still further to the south-east, is a peninsula, of which the northern extremity is called, from the fisheries of its vicinity, Cape Cod. From Boston, I made an excursion into these quarters of the country. My road to Plymouth

lay through the towns of Dorchester, Milton, Braintree, Quincy, Weymouth, Hingham, Pembroke, Hanover and Kingston.

Between Boston and Dorchester, or rather between the northern part of Boston, and a tract called South Boston, lately separated from Dorchester, is a bridge, stretching across an inlet of the sea, and uniting, on this side, the peninsula with the main. This bridge is of wood, forty feet broad, and nearly sixteen hundred feet long, and is laid on trussels, in shallow water. Between Dorchester and Milton is a second bridge, over the small river Neponsit. In Milton the road ascends a hill, deservedly celebrated for the extensive prospect that it affords, in which the Neponsit winding, at its foot, through wide and verdant meadows, at length loses itself in Boston Harbour. The meadows are contrasted by woody hills.

At twelve miles from Boston are the Blue Hills, a fine feature in the landscape, and where there is a house of entertainment, resorted to by convivial parties. Beyond these is Four-mile River, with a draw-bridge. The two divisions of the bridge are made to lift by means of semicircular wheels; but this machinery, of which the simplicity recommends it to the eye, is not found to answer the purpose intended. Below the bridge, seve-

ral small vessels were building at this place. The river separates the town of Quincy from that of Weymouth. Below Weymouth is Hingham, through a part of which I passed; but the village, which is in a rising state, lies four miles out of the road, in Scituate Harbour. Hanover is watered by a river called North River, on the banks of which there is much ship-building. Below Hanover is Pembroke.

The shores of Massachusetts Bay are for the most part rich in more than one variety of granite, and in specimens of porphyry, and other descriptions of stone; but, below Four-mile River, they become in general, low, with a light and sandy soil. Among the exceptions to this account, is the country between Pembroke and Plymouth, in which there are some high hills. On the Kingston shore, there are several works for the manufacture of salt, by a process soon to be described. Danbury, which is on the left of the road, is said to have recently made considerable advances in commercial enterprise. I left Boston in the morning of the thirty-first of August, and reached Plymouth in the evening of the same day.

Plymouth is the most ancient of the towns, but it is far from being the most prosperous. It was settled by the first adventurers in New En-

gland, in the year 1620; but in 1791 it had only three thousand inhabitants, and in 1800, three thousand five hundred, on an area of more than eighty square miles, its length being sixteen miles, and its breadth five. It is, however, a post-town, and a county-town, and possesses a port of entry.

The soil and surface consist in a continuity of hills or downs of sandy loam, with valleys and hollows that contain small streams, and lakes or pools, in New England always denominated *ponds*. There are in the town sixty-eight of these ponds that supply fish, and that are consequently permanent bodies of water; besides many others, that being filled only in the wet seasons, and affording grass in the dry, are denominated *grass-holes*. The total number of *ponds* exceeds one hundred. The herbage is scanty, and the timber, which consists in black pine and oak, is of a stunted growth. In looking into the manuscript records of the colony, I found, among the earliest ordinances, one which forbade the exportation of timber; an unaccountable prohibition, among the settlers in a primitive forest, were it not explained by this part of the natural history of the place. Amid this sterility, maize is sown with profit, by the powerful aid of fish manure.

The unfavourableness of their situation, as to the pursuits of agriculture, was early perceived by the settlers; but agriculture was in their time less the dependence of the settlement, than the fur-trade and fisheries. The fur-trade is now at an end; the fisheries are to be prosecuted at a greater distance than formerly; and the harbour, which never had deep water, has grown, and is growing shallower. But a portion of the fisheries and commerce nevertheless remain; and Plymouth, though still in a humble condition, is said to be in an advancing state. In the rebellion, its shipping was particularly unfortunate.

The cod-fishery is the principal object of attention; in which Plymouth employs from three to four thousand tons of shipping. There is also a small coasting trade, and a few vessels engaged in transporting the produce of the fishery to Europe. Before the French revolution, the exports of Plymouth did not exceed the annual value of eight or nine thousand dollars: in 1795, they rose above seventy thousand; and in 1796, above a hundred and thirty.

Among the resources of Plymouth are not to be forgotten its mill-seats, at the little falls on its brooks. On these, there are some beginnings of manufactures, particularly a slitting-mill and some other iron-works; and hopes are held out

of raising the town to importance by turning its capital to these pursuits.

Those forefathers landed at Plymouth on the twentieth day of December, 1620, the place having first been examined by an exploring party, on the three days before. Plymouth Harbour had previously been so named by Captain Smith, the navigator and discoverer; and the adventurers were not unwilling to continue the name, in consequence of the gratitude that they entertained toward their friends at Plymouth in England, from which port they had commenced their voyage.

A rock, or mass of stone, on the beach, has been constantly pointed out as a monument of the transaction of the Twentieth of December. Upon this, according to the tradition, the main body of the adventurers first stepped, from the boat which landed them from their ship; and it is hence denominated Forefathers' Rock. A wharf is now built upon the site, and the ground raised, perhaps above the level of the original summit of the rock. In 1774, the upper half, however, was piously broke away, and removed into the middle of the village, for preservation and distinction sake; and so far all is well. But the place assigned to this venerated stone, is no other than the end of a wall, in which, along with vulgar stones, it props up

an embankment. Another removal is therefore to be desired.

Meanwhile, the inferior portion, left upon the original spot, and embedded in the soil of the wharf, has been carefully lifted up, and placed upon a higher level, so that a portion is still on the surface.

The village is seated at the mouth of the Town Brook, on the north bank of which is the chief part of the houses. Of these, which exceed two hundred in number, the greater proportion are smaller, and less modern in their structure, than is usual in the United States; and painted, not white, but either a clay-colour, blue-gray or red.

The public buildings are a church and court-house, both respectable in their appearance; an alms-house, a county gaol, and a house for a grammar school, kept throughout the year.

In the winter months, more than twelve small district schools, are kept in the whole of the several neighbourhoods or villages that are scattered along the sixteen miles of sea-coast that composes the town.

Of these, the nearest to the village of Plymouth, is Eel River. At the distance of seven miles is another, called Monument Ponds; and a third is Hobbs's Hole. By *hole* is here meant a *cove*.

The total taxes of Plymouth, exclusive of state and county-taxes, for this year, are about three thousand dollars, intended to meet the following items of expenditure:

Schools,	$815	
Alms house,	600	
Overseer of ditto, his salary,	80	
Town Treasurer's ditto,	50	
Assessors' pay,	100	
Collectors' commissions,	200	
Sexton,	50	
Physician for the alms-house,	16	67
Abatements on taxes,	100	
Contingents,	300	
	$2,371	67
Sundry other charges,	688	33
Total,	$3,000	00

But some assistance in the discharge of the town taxes, is obtained from a source which also contributes to the means of the inhabitants, and particularly of the poorer part. All the brooks, and all the ponds which communicate by the brooks with the sea, are visited annually by shoals of alewives, a species of herring. The fishery thus afforded is placed under the regulation of the law; it is a common property, and pursued under the direction of the selectmen,

and for the benefit of the town; first, by allowing each inhabitant to purchase a certain quantity at a very low price; and secondly, by disposing of the remainder at the best market to the profit of the town.

At the back of the main street is a hill, on which, from an early date, has been the burying-ground; but I discovered in it no inscription more ancient than 1681. The oldest that I saw were the four following:

Edward Gray, born	1629	died	1681
Thomas Cushman, ruling elder of the church,	1607	–	1691
Thomas Clarke,	1659	–	1697
Rev. John Cotton,	1642	–	1699

Here, and in some neighbouring places, it has been, and still is the practice, to prefix, to the name of a deceased female of some consideration, as the parson's, the deacon's or the doctor's wife, the title of *madam*.

In this burying ground, and on the summit of the hill, are the remains of the ditch that surrounded a small fortification, consisting in a block house and stockade, erected by the first adventurers. By a gentleman of the town, a neighbouring and contiguous hill was shown me, as the spot on which they first beheld the Indians, who showed themselves from the summit, in hostile array. This account is in-

consistent, however, with written history, and with what, upon consideration, must appear to be the truth. The place, where the Indians first discovered themselves to any part of the adventurers, and where they behaved hostilely, must have been nearer Barnstable than Plymouth; the persons that saw them were those that composed the exploring party; and the time was the eighth of December, twelve days before the landing at Plymouth. Plymouth itself was at this time a solitude, the Indians having been recently swept away, by an epidemic disorder; the first Indian that was seen in the settlement, was one, that on the sixteenth of March following, entered it alone, peaceably and confidentially, and that passing by the houses, walked up to a collection of the people, and surprised them with a welcome, expressed in broken English. He told them that the name of the place was Patuxet, and that he had learned their language of the crews of the fishing vessels that were accustomed to frequent Monhigan.

Patuxet or *Patusuc* implies a place at the mouth of a river; the mouth being considered as its entrance; while the word *pathigget* considers the mouth as an outlet. In the case of Plymouth, *the mouth of the river* is the mouth of the Town Brook.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Massachusetts—Rocks of Sacrifice.

LEAVING the village of Plymouth, and pursuing my journey through the town, I passed the river and village of Eel River, but kept to the right of Monument Ponds, on my way to Sandwich.

Between Monument Ponds, in the south-eastern limits of the town of Plymouth, are some lands reserved to a small community of Indians, at present known only by the name of Herring-pond Indians, from a small lake, called the Herring Pond, on the borders of which they live. This lake or pond discharges itself, by a small stream, into the bay, and participates, in the season, by this communication, in the general fishery of herrings. It is some years since the Herring-pond Indians were estimated at a hundred and twenty souls. In the year 1698, when the several plantations of Indians in Massachusetts were visited, in pursuance of instructions given by the commissioners for propagating the gospel, no mention is made, in the return of the visitors, of any Indians, by the name of Her-

ring-pond Indians; but *ten families* are said to be resident at *Kitteaumut* or *Monument Ponds.**

The Herring-pond Indians are said to be *mixed*, that is, to have the children of Europeans and Africans among them; and this is generally true, of all the Indians in Massachusetts, and in some other parts. On my road, I met several of these Indians, answering this description; particularly women, half Indian and half negro. They had laid aside the distinguishing dress of Indian women, and in the preservation there is much pertinacity; and had good clothes, and even good and clean shoes and stockings.

Travelling slowly by the side of one of these women I entered into conversation with her, and soon discovered, in her willingness to talk, and cheerfulness of temper, not less than in her looks, that she was almost more negress than Indian; for the unmixed Indian is what he has often been described, serious and taciturn, and shy of access. My companion descanted on the condition of her *nation* (for it is thus the Indians always denominate their communities) in that language of submission to the evil that is inevitable, and of enjoyment of the good that offers, which appears to me to characterize the negro; but proclaimed herself an Indian, at the same time,

* American Annals, Vol. II.

as to the article of spirituous liquors. Having asked her, whether or not she thought that the Indians were really more disposed to drunkenness than the whites, or only more easily affected by liquor, she frankly answered, that for herself, when she wanted to be sober and fit for work, she did not dare to taste any liquor whatever; a very small quantity overpowering either her strength or her prudence.

At seven miles from the village of Plymouth, is Clam-pudding Pond, another of the little lakes, and of which the name is connected with a tradition, that the ancient colonists, in their way to and from the courts, were accustomed to bait on its margin, taking *clam-pudding* (their travelling dish) from their wallets, and using the water as their beverage.

All the country of which we are speaking had anciently a large Indian population; large, at least, for a people who subsist principally on the free gifts of nature. It is a narrow tongue of land, washed on both sides by the sea. Fish and fowl were formerly abundant; and even the sand, which composes great part of the soil, was of easy tillage, and, with fish manure, not unproductive.

From this original situation of things, it results, that many Indian traditions and monuments remain, together with even some portion of the people. Among the monuments, are six or seven

masses of stone, standing in different parts of the woods, on which the Indians, though professing themselves Christians, still make offerings, and to which, for this reason, is given the name of Sacrifice Rocks.

Two Sacrifice Rocks are on the side of the road leading from Plymouth to Sandwich. One of them may be six feet high, and the other four; and both are of ten or twelve feet in length: and they differ in nothing, as to their figure, from the masses of granite and other rock, which are scattered over the surface of all the adjacent country. All that distinguishes them is the crowns of oak and pine branches which they bear, irregularly heaped, and of which some are fresh, some fading, and some decayed. These branches the Indians place there, from motives which they but obscurely explain, and for doing which their white neighbours therefore generally suppose that they have no reason to give. When questioned, they rarely go further than to say, that they do so because they have been taught that it is right to do it, or because their fathers did so before them: if they add any thing to this, it is, that they expect blessings from the observance of the practice, and evils from the neglect.

But, to whom is this worship offered? To a *manito;* and by *manito*, through the religious prejudices of the whites, is usually under-

stood *a devil.* It was with great pleasure therefore that I heard, from the lips of the aged missionary of Marshpee, in this neighbourhood, the enlarged view which he took of this matter: "One day," said he, "as I was riding past a "Sacrifice Rock, I saw two Indian women "dragging a young pine-tree, and setting "about to lay it on the rock. It was so large "and heavy, that the undertaking almost ex- "ceeded their strength: however, they perse- "vered. My approach a little disconcerted "them; but I only smiled on them as I passed; "for I considered the act as an acknowledgment "of a providence, and therefore not to be too "hastily rebuked." He illustrated his notion, of toleration in matters of this kind, by a second anecdote of his practice: "I knew a lady," added he, "who had the most implicit faith in "dreams; a faith attended by the most ridicu- "lous and inconvenient consequences: I at- "tempted to sap the foundations of this faith; "but I found it so indissolubly connected, in her "mind, with a faith in a providence, that I "judged it prudent to desist."

And my reverend commentator saw the Indian sacrifices as they ought to be seen. They are offered to the overruling providence, wherever it may reside, and by whatever name it may be called. They are offered in humble

duty, and in humble hope; in the hope of food, health and peace. They are offered in weakness and in want, in sickness and in sorrow; or they are offered in gratitude and joy. Parents offer them for the preservation of their children, and children for the life of their parents. Husbands, wives; sisters, brothers; cousins, friends; all offer them in reciprocal affection; and offer them to that providence which dispenses sunshine and rain, raiment and food, and in whose strength alone the feebleness of man seeks for a stay and help. It was, perhaps, for a sick child, or for an absent brother or husband, that one of the women, assisted by her neighbour, was seen by the good missionary exhausting her strength in the toilsome offering.*

* "An unchristened Tungoose went into one of the "churches at Yakutsk, placed himself before the paint- "ing of Saint Nicholas, bowed very respectfully, and "laid down a number of rich skins, consisting of black "and red foxes, sables, squirrels, &c. which he took "out of a bag. On being asked why he did so, he "replied, 'My brother, who is christened, was so ill, "'that we expected his death. He called upon Saint "'Nicholas, but would have no sorcerer. I promi- "'sed, that if Nicholas would let him live, I would "'give him what I caught in my first chase. My "'brother recovered, I obtained these skins, and there "'they are.'—He then bowed again, and retired." *Sauer's Account of Billings's Expedition*, Chap. IV. By *sorcerer*, the writer means a *shaman* or pagan priest.

A pine branch is a humble gift; but the value is not in the gift, but in the piety of the hand that brings it.

CHAPTER XL.

Stones of Power.

WE shall be warranted in identifying the Sacrifice Rocks of Plymouth with those Stones of Power, so often mentioned by Ossian, and so conspicuous in the history of the North of Europe, and which may be successfully traced through a still wider circuit.

In North America, they are known at least to all the Algonquin nations, (among which are to be reckoned the Indians of New England,) and to the Six Nations. At a spot, on the banks of the Winnipigon, a large river that discharges itself into the lake of the same name, there is a circle of stones, artificially laid on a high rock, and which the Indians are accustomed to crown with wreaths of herbage, and with branches; and for this reason, the carrying-place that passes it has the Canadian appellation of Le Portage du Bonnet.* In Lake Superieur, there is a rock

* Mackenzie's Voyages.

on which the Indians deposit various offerings, such as they are likely to have in their canoes, at the time they pass it.* On the borders of Lake Michigan, two of the earlier French missionaries found a village, in which a great stone was an object of worship; they placed their shoulders against it, and tumbled it into the lake: the shore was bold at the place, and the stone sunk, and became irrecoverable. In Lake Ontario, there is a rock, not far from the mouth of Black River, which a Dutch governor treated with a very coarse expression of contempt, and was presently afterward lost in a storm.† In Lake Champlain, there is another of a sacred description, and which rock is not to be insulted with impunity. I have myself passed this rock, in crossing the lake, between Chazy and Burlington; and was subsequently informed, by the Indians of Saint-Français, in Lower Canada, that a certain French missionary, observing the Indians to stand in awe of it, had the precaution to baptize it, giving it the name of *Pierre*, (*Peter.*)

In Iceland, the first Christian bishop, by chaunting a hymn, split one of these *sacred stones;* and having thus rendered it no longer tenantable by the spirit, was so fortunate as to

* Henry's Travels.

† Colden's History of the Five Nations of Canada.

wean the worshippers from their former faith, and convert them to his own.*

On the peninsula of Hindostan there is a *sacred stone*, called Jagrànaut, and for the worship of which, as being inhabited by Vishnu, the pagoda, which contains it, was built, and is still supported, with sacrifices, and with the ministry of five hundred priests.

At Mecca there is a *sacred stone*, on account of which the place was held in sanctity long before the birth of Mohammed; and it is still kissed and worshipped by every Mohammedan pilgrim.

There was a *sacred stone* at Delphi, upon which daily libations of wine were poured, and to which other honours, on festivals, were paid. Pausanias, who preserves the fact, informs us, that this was the stone that Saturn swallowed, instead of the infant Jupiter; but no fable of antiquity is so extravagant, upon the subject of this stone, as that of a modern scholar, Mr. Bryant,† who would have us believe, that the stone was a stone pillar, set up where there had been previously an altar of Saturn, at which altar children were customarily sacrificed; and that the pillar was the object

* Kristni Saga, Chap. II, cited in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Vol. II.

† Analysis of Antient Mythology.

or the altar of that newer and milder worship to which alone (it is to be remembered) the history extends.

The conjecture that I shall hazard on this stone, if not better founded than the foregoing, will at least be not more rash. I shall place it, along with all other *sacred stones*, in the list of Stones of Power; and even venture to express my belief, that this Stone of Power was the primitive seat of the Delphic oracle, and the foundation of all that celebrity and wealth and splendour which subsequently attached themselves to the temple of Apollo. The transition is by no means violent, if we agree with Mr. Bryant, in so far as he contends, that Apollo and Saturn were only different names for the same divinity; and, if that were thought too much, still the place, chosen for the seat of the temple of Apollo, might be one in previous estimation for the Stone of Saturn. Let all this, however, be regarded as it may, these facts will be still left, that there was at Delphi a sacred stone, on which libations were poured, and to which still other honours were paid: such a stone must have been a Stone of Power. A *sacred stone* occurs in the history of Jacob's vision.

"And Jacob went out from Beersheba, "and went toward Haran. And he lighted

" upon a certain place, and tarried there all night,
" because the sun was set; and he took of the
" stones of that place, and put them for his pil-
" lows, and lay down in that place to sleep.
" And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set
" upon the earth, and the top of it reached to
" heaven: and behold the angels of God as-
" cending and descending on it. And behold
" the Lord stood above it, and said, ' I am the
" ' Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the
" ' God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest,
" ' to thee will I give it, and to thy seed; and
" ' thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth,
" ' and thou shalt spread abroad to the west,
" ' and to the east, and to the north, and to the
" ' south; and in thee and in thy seed shall all the
" ' families of the earth be blessed. And behold
" ' I am with thee, and will help thee in all
" ' places whither thou goest, and will bring
" ' thee again into this land; for I will not
" ' leave thee until I have done that which I have
" ' spoken to thee of.'

" And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he
" said, ' Surely the Lord is in this place, and
" ' I knew it not!' And he was afraid, and said,
" ' How dreadful is this place! This is none
" ' other but the House of God, and this is
" ' the gate of heaven!'

" And Jacob rose up early in the morning, " and took the *stone*, that he had for his pillows, " and set it up for a pillar, and *poured oil upon* " *the top of it*. And he called the name of that " place Bethel; but the name of that city was " called Luz at the first.

" And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, ' If God " ' will be with me, and will help me in this " ' way that I go, and will give me bread to " ' eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come " ' again to my father's house in peace, then " ' shall the Lord be my God: and *this stone*, " ' which I have set up for a pillar, *shall be* " ' *God's House:* and of all that thou shalt " ' give me, I will surely give the tenth part " ' unto thee.' "*

In the British islands there are doubtlessly many of these *sacred stones*, still the objects of some degree of popular superstition. One, in particular, is mentioned, on the confines of Jed Forest, in Northumberland, and which is called sometimes the Keeldar Stone, and sometimes the Rocking Stone. Antiquarians call it a vestige of the druids, and the vulgar believe that it is inhabited by a spirit. The description given of its appearance, that it is a rough insulated mass of stone, of considerable dimensions,

* Genesis, Chap. xxviii. ver. 10—22.

makes it agree entirely, in these particulars, with the *sacred stones* in America, and the other parts of the world. Its name, of the Rocking Stone, is applied to it, according to the superstitious, from the motion occasionally imparted to it by the spirit within; and it is called the Keeldar Stone, from *Keeldar*, a Northumbrian chief, who, in scorn of the spirit, rode thrice *withershins* around it; that is, in a direction contrary to the course of the sun.*

Not only the Rocking Stone, but all *sacred stones*, and particularly all circles of stones, are usually regarded by antiquarians as of druidic origin. Many circumstances, however, concur to render this doctrine extremely doubtful; for not only the use of sacred stones, and circles of stones, in the druidic worship, must itself have had some previous foundation; but it is probable, also; that both the one and the other are of a remoter date than the druids themselves, and of a much wider diffusion. Of the theology of the druids we are very little informed, and

* See *The Cout of Keeldar*, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, (vol. ii,) an elegant and valuable work, through a large proportion of which is exhibited, in colours of becoming humiliation, the wanderings of the human intellect, and well adapted to introduce the polite reader to a most interesting branch of antiquities.

little more is known of their rites, than that they were celebrated within circles of stones. But, circles of stones always suppose the presence of the *sacred stone* which they enclosed, and on which indeed it appears that the druids offered sacrifices. The *sacred stone* is called by Ossian a Stone of Power; and such a stone he constantly ascribes to the Circle of Loda. Thus, in the third book of Fingal, Snivan is described as a bard that often sung round "the Circle of Loda, when the Stone of Power "heard his cry, and the battle turned, in the field "of the valiant." By the Circle of Loda, we are taught to understand a temple of Odin; but Odin and his worship are said to have come into the north of Europe from the banks of the Sea of Baikal; a derivation which at once extends the seats of the Stones of Power into the heart of Asia.

But, the scene presented to us, of Snivan, at prayers during the battle, agrees entirely with the ordonnance of those circles of stones which are sometimes supposed to be exclusively druidic. When we hear the bard singing round the circle of Loda, we see him at the same time in motion round one of those circles of which we have the description, three hundred feet in circumference, fenced in by stones of seven feet in height, and placed at intervals of three feet

and a half, and connected at their summits by transoms. The druidic temples had circles also; but they had them only in common with others.*

In their theology, and in their acquaintance with human learning, the druids were perhaps superior to the priests of Odin; but in their rites, in their temples, and in their veneration for Stones of Power, there was, between both, as it seems reasonable to believe, an abundant similarity. There might be more refinement, and more complexity, in their system; but it had its foundation where the worship of Odin had its foundation too. The one was disfi-

* Besides the Circle of Loda, Ossian mentions more than once the Circle of Brumo, which he places in Craca, supposed to be one of the Shetland Isles; but the worship performed in it was apparently the same with that performed in the Circle of Loda. On one occasion, the poet gives to the Circle of Brumo the epithet of *horrid* or *horrible*, "where often, they said, the ghosts of the "dead howled round the Stone of their Fear;" but, immediately before, he has placed it in a more usual and agreeable view. Grumal invades Craca, from Cona; and the king of Craca goes out to meet the enemy, directly from the sacred grove, where he had been in the act of worshipping at the Stone of Power, within the circle: "He poured his warriors on sounding "Craca; and Craca's king met him from his grove: "for then, within the Circle of Brumo, he spoke to the "Stone of Power."

gured, perhaps, by a greater portion of ruggedness and ignorance, inherent and perpetuated among the companions of Odin, while the other might be softened and ennobled by the researches and the science of Pythagoras; but both were, at the best, sufficiently barbarous and blind: of both, the priests were dreamers of dreams and ministers of superstition; and of both, the votaries were of corresponding character.—We are not to forget, that even on the banks of the Winnipigon, the circle is affected, though it is there a circle of sacred stones.*

But, Circles of Stones and Stones of Power are to be taken together; for the one were the altars, and the other were the walls; and that temples (that is, places of worship) were thus composed, for the celebration of other rites than those of the druids, is established by many more proofs than are to be collected from the poems of Ossian. If, for example, the ancient histories of Scotland can be believed, the dates are clearly assignable, of the introduction both of Christianity and druidism into the northern parts of Great Britain; and, at a period anterior to both, we find *great stones* set up *for temples*, and tenths or tythes appropriated for offerings.

* See *passim*.

Lastly, and still further to extend the history of Stones of Power, I shall add, that their attribute of power appears equally to belong to some of those *heaps of stones* to which history often attaches a similar character of sanctity.

CHAPTER XLI.

The same, continued.

OSSIAN has left us a very detailed and picturesque account of an interview between his hero, Fingal, and the spirit, god or demon of the Stone of Loda. The reality of the event is not the question. What we want to learn is the conceptions of the times, as to stones of this description, and as to their spirits. The author is even said to have written this part of his poem expressly against the doctrines of Christianity, then lately introduced into his country, by a *culdee* or missionary; a circumstance, which, if it be accurately stated, adds greatly to the historical value of the production, and to its claims on close examination.*

* Ossian's Poems. *See* Carric-thura, a poem, and the Argument prefixed.

Fingal, returning from a warlike expedition, resolved on visiting Cathulla, king of Inistore, at his residence of Carric-thura; and observed, as he approached it, a flame burning on one of its towers, called Sarno's Tower, in signal, as was well understood, of a want of succour. Amid the anxiety thus excited in his mind, the wind drove his vessel into a bay, where he encamped for the night on shore. In the history of his adventure with the spirit, almost every word is deserving of particular attention:

"Night came down on the sea; Rotha's bay "received the ship.—A rock bends along the "coast, with all its echoing wood. On the top "is the Circle of Loda, and the mossy Stone of "Power. A small plain spreads beneath, co- "vered with grass and aged trees, which the "midnight winds, in their wrath, have torn "from the shaggy rock. The blue course of a "stream is there, and the lonely blast of ocean "pursues the thistle's beard.—The flame of "three oaks arise; the feast is spread around; "but the soul of the king is sad, for Carric- "thura's battling chief.

"The wan cold moon rose in the east. "Sleep descended on the youths: their blue "helmets glitter to the beam; the fading fire "decays. But sleep did not rest on the king.

" He rose in the midst of his arms, to behold the " flame of Sarno's Tower.

" The flame was dim and distant; the moon " hid her red face in the east. A blast came " from the mountain, and bore, on its wings, " the Spirit of Loda. He came to his place in " his terrors, and he shook his dusky spear. " His eyes appear like flames in his dark face, " and his voice is like distant thunder. Fingal " advanced with the spear of his strength, and " raised his voice on high:

" ' Son of night, retire! call thy winds, and " ' fly! Why dost thou come to my presence, " ' with thy shadowy arms? Do I fear thy " ' gloomy form, dismal Spirit of Loda? Weak " ' is thy shield of clouds; feeble is that meteor, " ' thy sword; the blast rolls them together, " ' and thou thyself dost vanish! Fly from my " ' presence, son of night! Call thy winds, and " ' fly'!

" ' Dost thou force me from my place,' replied " the hollow voice? ' The people bend before " ' me! I turn the battle, in the field of the " ' valiant! I look on the nations, and they " ' vanish: my nostrils pour the blast of death! " ' I come abroad on the winds; the tempests are " ' before my face: but my dwelling is calm " ' above the clouds; the fields of my rest are " ' pleasant!'

" ' Dwell then in thy calm fields,' said Fingal,
" ' and let Comhal's son be forgot! Do my steps
" ' ascend, from my hills, into thy peaceful
" ' plains? Do I meet thee with a spear, on thy
" ' cloud, Spirit of dismal Loda? Why then
" ' dost thou frown on Fingal, or shake thine
" ' airy spear? But thou frownest in vain; I
" ' never fled from mighty men; and shall the
" ' sons of the wind frighten the king of Morven?
" ' No; he knows the weakness of their arms!'

" ' Fly to thy land,' replied the form; ' receive
" ' the wind and fly! The blasts are in the
" ' hollow of my hand; the course of the storm
" ' is mine. The king of Sora is my son; he
" ' bends at the Stone of my Power. His battle
" ' is around Carric-thura, and he will prevail.
" ' Fly to thy land, son of Comhal; or feel my
" ' flaming wrath!'

" He lifted high his shadowy spear, and bent
" forward his terrible height. But the king,
" advancing, drew his sword, the blade of dark-
" brown Luno. The gleaming path of the steel
" winds through the gloomy ghost. The form
" fell shapeless into air, like a column of smoke,
" which the staff of the boy disturbs, as it rises
" from the half-extinguished furnace.

" The Spirit of Loda shrieked, as, rolled into
" himself, he rose on the wind. Inistore shook
" at the sound: the waves heard it on the deep;

" they stopped, in their course, with fear: the " companions of Fingal started, at once, and " took their heavy spears. They missed the king: " they rose with rage: all their arms resound.

" The moon came forth in the east. The king " returned in the gleam of his arms. The joy of " his youths was great: their souls settled, as a " sea from a storm. Ullin raised the song of " gladness. The hills of Inistore rejoiced. The " flame of the oak arose, and the tales of heroes " were told."

From the foregoing it is evident, that whatever might be the notions of the more vulgar worshippers, the Stone of Power was never properly considered as the habitation and residence of the god or demon to whom it belonged, but only as his place of resort, and point of communication, as it were, with the earth. It is thus we have seen Jacob, though persuaded that the place in which he had dreamed was the house of God, and though proposing to call the stone on which he slept Beth El, or God's House, yet explaining himself to mean, only a place occasionally favoured with the divine presence, and *the gate of heaven*, or spot at which there was a communication, between the earth and the dwelling of the deity. In the language of Fingal we see the most precise distinction taken; for we find the hero arguing with

the Spirit of Loda, that in approaching the Circle and the Stone of his Power, he was nevertheless guilty of no intrusion on his privacy: "Do my steps ascend, from my hills, into thy "peaceful plains? Do I meet thee, with a spear, "on thy cloud?"—The god himself, too, proclaims, that his "*dwelling* is calm, above the "clouds."

CHAPTER XLII.

The same, continued.

IN the chapter last concluded, the true nature of that union, which men have supposed to exist, between the *spirits of heaven* (to use another expression of Ossian's) and the Stones of Power, has been ascertained; and we have seen, that though in a variety of instances, and particularly in that of Jagranaut, the god is believed by some to have become incarnate (such is the phrase) in his stone,* yet the sounder doctrine is, that the stone is only favoured with the occasional visits of his person, though constantly

* Jagranaut is worshipped as having been chosen for the tenth *avatar* or incarnation of Vishnu.

overshadowed with his divinity: "*He came to* "*his place*," says Ossian, "*he came to his place* "in his terrors."

But, in what way are we to account for this superstition? In what way are we to account for the choice, in the whole range of the material world—of *stones*—of *stones*, for the seats and depositories of divine power and intelligence?—It is not, (or so I believe,) in our books, nor in our closets, that we are to pursue such an inquiry; but in the forests.—If we desire to comprehend the history of the primitive world, we must survey the circumstances that characterize it, and especially its scenery. If a historian of Rome or Greece may derive assistance from a personal view of those countries, of the remains of their cities and edifices, and of their actual inhabitants, so may the historian of ruder periods, from the view of corresponding countries. It is a serious, though unavoidable defect in our learning, that books, which are indebted to the use of letters for their existence, afford us, not only insufficient, but often erroneous views, of those countries and ages to which letters were unknown.

To the savage, in the forest, or on the lake, a rock, an insulated mass of stone, is by no means that uninteresting object which it appears to him that has been educated in cities and academies;

but, on the contrary, it is attended by a variety of circumstances, all in a high degree mysterious. Of the degree in which it may fill and agitate the mind, I shall without hesitation offer as remarkable instances, the effects which it may be observed to produce upon the dog, and upon the horse.—To many, these illustrations will savour of ridicule; but more reflection will convince every one that they are to the purpose. Without offering a single word in argument, I shall appeal to the thousand testimonies that present themselves, not only of the actual sympathy between man and the animals, upon subjects of this nature, but of the attention which men have always paid to the gestures and cries of animals, as indicative of their feelings, and of their fears; an attention which in those animals that I have named, is entirely reciprocated: for nothing is more easy, than for a man to excite fear, either in the dog or in the horse, by manifesting, in his gestures, the presence of that passion in himself. How often, and in how many forms, men have attributed to animals a perception and a consciousness, equal, and even superior to their own, it were endless to recount. Concerning the fairy-ring, or circle sometimes observed in the grass, and which philosophers attribute to the electric fluid, but

the vulgar to the dance of fairies, Shakespear versifies the observation, that

> ——the *superstitious ewe*,
> In reverence, bites it not.

The dog, then, and the horse, may be mentioned, in illustration of the effects which a solitary and mossy stone is capable of producing upon the human mind; nor is the condition of man, in respect of the things with which he is unacquainted, at all different from the condition of these animals: it is by dint of knowledge only, that he becomes their superior.

Now, the deportment of the dog and the horse, in a solitary and silent forest, is striking. The horse, accustomed to the bustle of men, is perhaps startled, in the town, or on the road, only by uncommon noises or appearances, and for the rest, pursues his way without any remarkable anxiety. But, let him walk gently through a forest, and you shall perceive that he is filled with endless apprehensions. In the open country he had little to fear; but in the forest, every tree may hide an enemy. Its silence alarms him, and not tranquillizes; he turns his ears in disquietude, at every moment, and in every direction; and is shaken by the falling of a leaf. In these circumstances, if a rock protrude

its unusual form from among the trees, he yields easily to fear, and at the least makes a circuit to avoid it.

But, follow the dog, as he ranges among the trees, tracking the fox or deer; and if such a rock presents, in his path, its giant, dusky, motionless and silent bulk, he starts, stops, and gazes. To try its temper, he ventures upon a tremulous bark; prepared, meanwhile, for flight, should his temerity lead him into danger. If, at this moment, a branch of fern wave slowly at its base, he barks aloud, but retires to a further distance. Hitherto, the sight of the rock has borne down his faculties, and he is afraid either to go or to stay; but, if a rotten branch, or an acorn, tumble from an adjacent tree—then, with sudden terror, he flies hastily from the place.

I am not contending, however, that the dog or the horse sees in these rocks the seats, either of ghosts or gods; but the first origin of our superstitions is in our fears for the body, in the principle of self-preservation; and of this the man, his dog, and his horse, are all alike and equally susceptible. It is certainly in the dread of beasts of prey that we are to look for the cause of the solicitude of the horse. But the form of a rock is often questionable, and the horse often suspects it to be a crouching animal. That

this is the idea by which he is haunted we may see reason to believe, in observing that the same horse who betrays no fear of an object that is square, or that is angularly formed, will constantly take alarm at every one that is rounded or orbicular, and therefore more easily imagined to be the body of an animal.

Let us now take a savage, or in other words an untutored hunter, herdsman or navigator; let us picture to ourselves the scene in which he moves; let us place ourselves in his situation; let us lay aside all our experience and information; let us think and feel, for the moment, through the single medium of our senses; let our eyes and ears be active, and let us devest ourselves of every mental resource, but in the impressions that these are able to convey.

Like the dog and the horse, the stag, and the various animals, whose timidity we remark, man is feeble, and almost defenceless. He holds his life, from moment to moment, dependent on the most trivial accident, and the meanest enemy. On the plain, in the forest, on the wave, destruction threatens every-where. The thunder rolls over his head, the tiger lurks in his ambush, the winds drive, the billows yawn, the serpent glides along the bank; life, therefore, is in danger on every side, and seems to

demand, for its protection, every species of precaution.

Let us now enter the forest, with our senses only for our instructors; with our simple perceptions, uncorrected by experience. Obscurely, or otherwise, a body of some magnitude presents itself. What is it? does it breathe? can it move? can it speak? is it asleep? is it malignant or beneficent?—How are these things to be ascertained, without approaching it, without speaking to it, without touching it, without exposing ourselves to experience its kindness or its malevolence? And would there be no danger in the inquiry? is not life at stake? How then shall we inform ourselves, as to any of the particulars? How shall we ascertain that this body is a senseless, motionless and powerless rock?

But, if our fears repress the movements of our curiosity, very far are they from repressing those of the imagination. Every nerve is stretched. We are all eye and ear. A breeze whispers, and we hear a voice; or we listen in vain, and the very silence fills us with terror. We retire, with the question still on our lips —What is it?

But, let it be ascertained that it is a stone; and the mystery, so far from being unravelled, is increased. Being a stone, how came it there?

and who fashioned its gray sides, and gave it that form, and so to say, that countenance which it possesses? Above all things, how came it there?

Now, this latter question, instead of being one that a savage, upon any physical principles, may solve with ease, is one in the discussion of which almost no two philosophers will agree. That upon lofty hills, in the depths of antique forests, on a soil of sand or clay, and surrounded by vegetable earth, there should be seen large masses of stone, with smooth and rounded surfaces, and of such weight as to be immovable by any human hand, is surely a phenomenon, the explanation of which may baffle all the efforts of the mere powers of ratiocination.

But, where reason succumbs, the imagination triumphs; and where the one confesses her weakness, the other, disencumbered of a rival, sets no limits to her power. The imagination, therefore, supplies that history for which the understanding is at a loss. In reality, to say nothing of the various theories of philosophers, the multitude, it is to be confessed, has every where attributed the extraordinary works of nature to supernatural causes. Geologists may dispute upon the production of the rocks of Staffa,

whether it was by fire or by water; but the people are convinced that those rocks were built by giants.

The reasoning, too, of the savage is somewhat close, upon these subjects, and not always to be answered without danger. We suppose that we convict him of the last excess of absurdity, when we demonstrate, not only that he worships the creature for the creator, (or, as he would say, the creator in the creature,) but, that in the list of creatures, he chooses precisely the dullest, the most unsightly, or the most unprofitable. The savage, however, though he admits our premises, is far from allowing the justice of that inference which we draw, so much to the disadvantage of his understanding.

He considers all things as the work of a sovereign and disposing hand. Of some, he perceives the design, and is well acquainted with the use. Of others, he is at a loss for both; and it is exactly here that commence the mystery and the worship. If all things are the work of a sovereign and disposing hand, then the dullest, the most unsightly and the most unprofitable are of that hand. But, is there no impiety in applying these terms to the work of such a hand? and if there is no impiety, is there no folly? Is it certain that these things are dull, unsightly and unprofitable, because to us they appear such? Is our wisdom, our penetration, our rules of

judging, every thing? and is the divine wisdom nothing? In the works of the divinity, is not the presumption fairer, that they are above our comprehension, than that they are beneath it? In things, of which we see the design, there is no mystery; but, in things, of which we do not see the design, there must be a design which we do not see; and the concealment constitutes the mystery. If there is no relation to the natural world, there must be a relation to the supernatural.—If you stop all this abuse of logic, by representing, that though the great scheme of nature is divine, many of the subordinate parts proceed from chance, the savage, at such an avowal, more than suspects you for an atheist.

If, placing a rock in a lake, or other body of water, we bring to our eyes the numerous appearances under which such an object is capable of presenting itself, at different intervals of space, at different hours of the day, and in different states of the air and water, as well as in a wider diversity of circumstances, we shall find subjects for a thousand pictures, all fitted for producing effects, more or less powerful, on the mind. Look at it, for example, from a distance, while yet you are in doubt whether it may be a rock, a boat, or rather some fearful inhabitant of the deep! See it black, and half

enveloped with mist; see it lost in the dark horizon, save that the white waves incessantly break over it, before the fury of the storm; see it cheerless under the dropping clouds, and hear the water-fowl that scream around it; see it gilded by the beams of the morning; see it reddening in the ray of the west; see it calm at noon, enduring the sun in his zenith, while the vapour dances over its surface; see it reposing, as it were, on the surface of the glassy wave, at evening; see its colours fade, as the sun disappears, and see its summit silvered by the moon: under a bank, on the nearest shore, you sit and ponder on its fantastic forms, and listen to the gentle ripple that breaks against its sides.

Along with this changeful aspect, we are constantly to keep in mind the adjunct of an extreme degree of uncertainty on the question, whether the object be animate or inanimate; an uncertainty frequently increased by its similitude, in point of configuration, to things known to be animate. This similitude, sometimes very perfect, and sometimes aided by fancy, is so familiar, that amongst our geographical names, none are more frequent than such as have this origin: thus we have rocks called the Saints, and others called the Martyrs.

Nor is it only the forms of the rocks themselves that may work upon the imagination; for

the vapours rising round them in the morning, or descending with the night, may in like manner deceive the spectator: "I behold my son, O "Malvina," exclaims Ossian, "near the mossy "rock of Crona; but *it is the mist of the desart*, "*tinged with the beam of the west:* lovely is "the mist that assumes the form of Oscar!"* How readily the mind abandons itself to such a deception, is described with much simplicity by Comala, on being told that Fingal is killed in battle. "Why hast thou told me, Hidallan, "that my hero fell? I might have hoped a little "while his return, and have thought I saw him "on a distant rock; a tree might have deceived "me with his appearance, and the wind of the "hill been the sound of his horn to my ear."†

* War of Caros.

† Comala, a Dramatic Poem.

A gigantic example of deception, supposed by Ossian, in the case of Oscar, presents itself, in the narrative subjoined, published no longer ago than the autumn of 1806, in the Raleigh Register, a newspaper printed at Raleigh, the seat of government in North Carolina.

The following account of an extraordinary phenomenon, that appeared to a number of people in the county of Rutherford, state of North Carolina, was made the 7th of August, 1806, in presence of David Dickie, Esq. of the county and state aforesaid, Jesse Anderson, and the reverend George Newton, of the

A cause, however, such as may be supposed to rank among the most efficient, still remains

county of Buncomb, and Miss Betsy Newton, of the state of Georgia, who unanimously agreed, with the consent of the relaters, that Mr. Newton should communicate it to Mr. Gales, editor of the Raleigh Register and State Gazette.

Patsy Reaves, a widow woman, who lives near the Apalachian Mountain, declared, that on the 31st day of July last, about six o'clock, P. M. her daughter Elizabeth, about eight years old, was in the cotton field, about ten poles from the dwelling-house, which stands by computation six furlongs from the Chimney Mountain; and that Elizabeth told her brother Morgan, aged eleven years, that there was a man on the mountain. Morgan was incredulous at first; but the little girl affirmed it, and said she saw him rolling rocks, or picking up sticks; adding, that she saw a heap of people. Morgan then went to the place where she was, and calling out, said, that he saw a thousand or ten thousand things flying in the air. On which, Polly, daughter of Mrs. Reaves, aged fourteen years, and a negro-woman, ran to the children, and called to Mrs. Reaves, to come and see what a sight yonder was. Mrs. Reaves says, she went about five poles towards them; and, without any sensible alarm or fright, she turned toward the Chimney Mountain, and discovered a very numerous crowd of beings, resembling the human species; but could not discern any particular members of the human body, nor distinction of sexes; that they were of every size, from the tallest men down to the least infants; that there were more of the small than of the full grown; that they were all clad with brilliant white

unnoticed; and this is, the effect of rocks, as intervening and opposing bodies, in producing

raiment, but could not describe any form of their raiment; that they appeared to rise off the side of a mountain south of said rock, and about as high; that a considerable part of the mountain's top was visible above this shining host; that they moved in a northern direction, and collected about the Chimney Rock. When all but a few had reached said rock, two seemed to rise together; and behind them, about two feet, a third rose. These three moved with great haste toward the crowd, and had the nearest resemblance to men, of any before seen. While beholding those three, her eyes were attracted by three more, rising nearly from the same place, and moving swiftly in the same order and direction. After these, several others rose, and went towards the rock.

During this view, which all the spectators thought lasted upward of an hour, she sent for Mr. Robert Siercy, who did not come at first: on a second message, sent about fifteen minutes after the first, Mr. Siercy came; and, being now before us, he gives the following relation, to the substance of which Mrs. Reaves agrees.

Mr. Siercy says, when he was coming, he expected to see nothing extraordinary; and when come, being asked if he saw those people on the mountain, he answered, no; but, on looking a second time, he said, he saw more glittering white appearances, of human kind, than ever he had seen of men, at any general review; that they were of all sizes, from that of men to infants; that they moved in throngs round a large rock not far from the Chimney Rock; they were about the height

eddies and currents of wind. Now, whether we consider these currents, as operating by the mere laws of nature, or as directed by an invi-

of the Chimney Rock, and moved in a semi-circular course, between him and the rock; and so passed along in a southern course, between him and the mountain, to the place where Mrs. Reaves said they rose; and that two, of a full size, went before the general crowd, about the space of twenty yards; and, as they respectively came to this place, they vanished out of sight, leaving a solemn and pleasing impression on the mind, accompanied with a diminution of bodily strength.

Whether the above be accountable on philosophical principles, or whether it be a prelude to the descent of the Holy City, I leave to the impartially curious to judge.

GEORGE NEWTON.

P. S. The above subscriber has been informed, that on the same evening, and about the same time in which the above phenomenon appeared, there was seen, by a gentleman of character, who was several miles distant from the place, a bright rainbow, apparently near the sun, then in the west, where there was no appearance of either clouds or rain; but a haze in the atmosphere. The public are therefore at liberty to judge, whether the phenomenon had any thing supernatural in it, or whether it was some unusual exhalation, or moist vapour, from the side of the mountain, which exhibited such an unusual rainbow.

G. N.

sible and offended deity, the physical force, and the consequent danger, are the same.

This danger is most imminent on the water; and in all the examples to be met with, where the spirits of rocks seated amid waves have conceived offence, a fatal storm has followed. Such is the expected result on Lake Superieur, should the rock of Naniboju or Mishabu be neglected or insulted. It was by a sudden gust of wind that the Dutch governor perished in Lake Ontario, shortly after his offending the spirit of the rock; and similar consequences are menaced, should the rock in Lake Champlain be passed by scorners, bold enough to brave its vengeance. The physical effect of a large rock upon the wind will not be called in question; a gust may really be produced; and nothing more than this is necessary, for supporting the imagination in the belief, that a storm, sweeping over a hundred leagues of ocean, proceeds from the same source. It is also matter of fact, as history in numerous cases sufficiently proves, that the course of events is often such as to appear to testify to the truth of the wildest doctrines. The writer that I have quoted, as to the rock in Lake Superieur, was himself a visitor of that rock; he saw the sacrifices of the Indians there; he was informed that without those sacrifices the

severest evils were likely to befall such as navigated or fished in the lake; yet, as may be supposed, he neglected the sacrifices; and the event was such as generations might hand down, in proof of the existence, the power, the jealousy and the justice of the gods. He landed at this island, in his passage across the lake. The lake is here narrow; the voyage was expected to be a short one; and, relying on his nets for subsistence, neither himself, nor the four other persons in his canoe, had more than a quart of maize each, on hand. At landing, he set his net. In the night, there arose a storm, which, for nearly three days, continued so violent that the net could not be visited. On the evening of the third day, it abated; the net was the first object of solicitude; but it was gone! The nearest port was Michipicoten, whence he had come; but the next morning the wind was ahead, and he had no choice but to continue his voyage to the Sault Sainte-Marie. The same evening, however, the wind veered into the opposite quarter, and its violence compelled him to remain nine days on the solitary and inhospitable shore on which he had sought a second asylum. The waves broke incessantly on the beach, and it was not practicable to put a canoe into the water.

At the beginning of this period of nine days, the party had not maize enough for one; and this small remainder was consumed on the first evening, in the expectation of a happy voyage, in the morning. For the first and second days, the writer vainly ranged the mountains with his gun: on the third, he was too weak to go many yards without stopping to rest; however, he shot two small birds, of the size of larks. In his absence, two of his men seriously resolved on killing and eating a young woman that was of the party; and nothing prevented this act of cannibalism, but his discovery of a lichen, called, by the Canadians, from its edible quality, *tripe de roche.* On this miserable food the party subsisted, till the morning of the tenth day.—It might be added, by an Indian historian, that the *tripe de roche* is itself a creation of Mishabu's, produced on a very particular occasion; and its discovery at this time, and under all the circumstances, might be shown to have proceeded, at once in mercy and in reproof, from the offended deity.—It is in this manner that history often lends itself to the cause of superstition.

But, we have hitherto limited our review, almost exclusively, to the simple phenomenons of nature, and their direct impressions, taking but little notice of the combinations effected in

the mind, or of the inventions and complex ideas that result from them, and particularly of dreams. Dreams, nevertheless, are important objects in the history of mankind, and have always had great influence upon their belief of facts and principles. From whatever cause it came originally to be supposed, that stones or rocks were the resort or habitations of gods, it is clear that dreams have served to establish the faith. It is clear that it became a matter of popular belief, that such as knowingly or unknowingly slept in or near sacred places, of whatever description, would be visited by the spirits to which they are sacred. Now, dreams, in the same popular belief, are no other than immediate communications with those spirits, whether ghosts or gods; and hence they are taken for express revelations.

" Dreams, with them," (the North American Indians,) says a writer who labours hard to make it believed that those people have no religion, " Dreams, with them, supply all other " defects, and serve instead of prophecy, inspi- " ration, laws, commands and rules, either for " undertakings in war, peace, trade or hunting: " nay, they are a kind of oracles in their eyes. " You would say, to see them at their devotions, " that they were of the sect of the pretended " inspired. The belief they have in their dreams, " imposes upon them a kind of necessity of be-

" lieving likewise, that they are forewarned, by " a Universal Mind, of what they ought to do " or avoid. Nay, this infatuation prevails upon " them so far, that if they were persuaded in " their dreams to kill a man, or commit any " other enormous crime, they would immediately " do it, with the greatest alacrity, and make " atonement for it by the means which we shall " hereafter relate.

" Parents' dreams generally serve for the ob- " servation of their children, and captains' for " those of their village. There are among " them those who pretend to interpret dreams, " but which they explain either according to " their fancies, or their pleasure; and if they " happen to be in the wrong, they are neverthe- " less not looked upon to be the less skilful for " all that."*

But, in whatever way the veneration for natural rocks and masses of stone commenced, the progress of superstition gave it extent beyond these bounds, and made every consecrated stone, or stone set apart even for a human memorial, a seat of dreams and of spirits. In the poem of Colna-dona, Ossian gives an account of the setting up a stone for a historical monument, an

* Hennepin's Continuation of a New Discovery, &c. Done into English. London, 1698. Chap. xiii.

act which is no sooner performed, than we find that the stone is attended by its spirits: "Prone, "from the stormy night, the traveller shall lay him "by thy side; thy whistling moss shall sound "in his ears; the years that are past shall re-"turn. Battles rise before him; blue-shielded "kings descend to war; the darkened moon "looks from heaven on the troubled field. He "shall burst with morning from dreams, and "see the tombs of warriors around. He shall "ask about the stone."

From stones artificially placed, we may recur to the Heaps of Stones, of which an admission into the general history of Stones of Power has been above proposed. Many of these heaps were raised as historical monuments; but some were certainly sacred to the gods; and all were frequented by spirits, either gods or ghosts. It was a useful practice in the north of Europe, to raise such heaps where a murder had been committed; but the scene of such an event is finely described by Ossian: "Ghosts are seen there "at noon; the valley is silent; and the people "shun the place of Lamor."*

But, other heaps were raised for, and consecrated to, the gods. In the country of the Six Nations, there are such heaps, upon which every one that passes throws an additional stone. The

* The War of Caros.

reason has been asked for in vain ; or this answer alone obtained, that it is held to be a duty.

But, the duty universally inculcated, has been that of constant and multiplied offerings, made at the stone or place of the divinity worshipped, either when passed on ordinary avocations, or more especially at the time of any supplication or address. In general, in all cases of vows, libations were to be performed ; but libations are not in all situations practicable, and other practices therefore must be adopted, to satisfy the desires of devotion. In America, and in many other parts of the world, a deposit of flowers and branches, on these occasions, has taken the place of libations ; and in tracts of country where great stones are not naturally found, the throwing of additional stones upon the heap may be regarded as an act of piety, not less acceptable than the pouring of oil or wine.

Resources of this sort bring us, as I suspect by the proper route, to the last item in the list of Stones of Power ; namely, stone idols, fashioned by the hand of the sculptor.

Mr. Macpherson supposes the Stone of Power, inclosed by the circle of Loda, to be "an *image* "of one of the Scandinavian deities ;" but in this he is certainly deceived. *Images* are wholly out of the question. Stones of Power are *representatives* of gods, but not *representations ;*

though it is highly probable that the one has at times melted into the other. The eyes, nose and mouth, said to be formed on the pyramidal stone of Jagranaut, may be considered as belonging to the intermediate period; and advances of this kind are common among the North American Indians. The stone idols of the Indians, says a real observer, are so destitute of workmanship, as not to be known for what they are, unless by those acquainted with their style: "In a tract of sixty miles long, and eighty "wide, I have found, and been informed, of "above a dozen of these stone idols, some of "which I should scarcely have thought of as "fashioned by human art, but for two or three "indubitable ones."*

The suggestion, by Mr. Macpherson, that the Stone of Power was an *image*, is exactly of that species of error against which we are to be on our guard, in all our conceptions of the things that belong to the ruder stages of society. We must wholly release our minds from the associations arising from our acquaintance with the arts, and consider, in their true extent, the materials and the means that are within the reach of men

* MS of the late Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College in Connecticut.

who set up monuments, not with the skill of statuaries or masons, but with naked hands, directed only by the affections. Something also might be said, to show that the worship of a misshapen stone is a more primitive and a purer idolatry, than the worship of an image: the one may be the work of a god, but the other is known to be the work of a man.

The same error, the influence of the same prejudice, has induced Mr. Bryant to make a *pillar* of the Stone of Saturn. We are told that Jacob also set up the stone on which he slept *for* a *pillar*. Nothing is more whimsical than the application of this word *pillar*, as we meet with it in different books, comprehending, at the pleasure of the writers, a great variety of objects, the most dissimilar in their appearance. If the reader is willing to renounce, for a moment, the whole set of ideas that he may have acquired from Palladio, and see what it is rudely to *set up a pillar*, let him turn to the scene lately referred to, in the poem of Colnadona.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The same, continued.

TO call to mind the physical relationship between rocks and winds, is, however, to advance only an intermediate step, in our pursuit of the relationship between rocks and gods. But what remains is of small labour—the task of showing the close union that has subsisted in the human imagination between the gods and winds.

"*A blast came from the mountain, and bore* "*on its wings* the spirit of Loda." It is in this manner that the spirit is introduced, in the narrative above recited; and it may be observed, that Ossian never presents either a god or a ghost, unaccompanied by some phenomenon of the element of air; and, that he even denominates the gods indifferently *spirits of heaven* and *sons of the wind.**

Cuchullin, in the third book of Fingal, relates an extravagant legend concerning the prowess of his great progenitor, exhibited in an assault upon one of the *sons of the wind:* "Cormar was the first of my race. He sported

* In the New Testament, Satan is called the prince of the *power of the air.*

" through the storms of the waves. His black " skiff bounded on ocean, and travelled on the " wings of the blast. A *spirit* once embroiled " the night. Seas swell, and rocks resound. " Winds drive along the clouds. The light- " ning flies on wings of fire. He feared, and " came to land;—then blushed that he had " feared at all. He rushed again among the " waves, to find the *son of the wind.* Three " youths guide the bounding bark; he stood " with the sword unsheathed. When the low- " hung vapour passed, he took it by the curl- " ing head, and searched its dark womb with " his steel. The *son of the wind* forsook the " air. The moon and stars returned."—But, a passage immediately preceding discovers to us, that the appellations, of *spirits of heaven* and *sons of the wind*, are employed for the same order of beings: " Show thy face from the " cloud, O moon! light his white sails on the " wave of the night! and if any strong *spirit of* " *heaven* sits on that *low-hung cloud*, turn his " dark ship from the rock, *thou rider of the* " *storm!*" In another place, we see the *spirits of heaven* presented as governors of the winds: " He rejoiced, like a spirit of heaven, whose " steps come forth on his seas, when he be- " holds them peaceful round, and all the winds " are laid: but soon he awakes the waves,

" and rolls them large to some echoing coast."* Fillan is said to be " Like a spirit of heaven, " that descends from the skirt of his blast: the " troubled ocean feels his steps, as he strides " from wave to wave: his path kindles behind " him; islands shake their heads on the heaving " seas."† In the following, the picture is still more complete: " So rise the green seas round " a spirit that comes down from the squally " wind: the traveller hears the sound afar, and " lifts his head over the rock: he looks on " the troubled bay, and thinks he dimly sees " the form: the waves sport unwieldy around, " with all their backs of foam."‡

But, are these *sons of the wind*, called also the *spirits of heaven*, the noblest of the *gods* of Ossian?—It is evident that they are; that their control of the winds is but one of the effects of their power; that they direct the fate of nations; and that though they present themselves to men only with the envelopement of gloom and clouds, and storms and terrors, yet they are themselves the glorious inhabitants of peaceful and effulgent skies: in common with the spirit of Loda, *their dwelling is calm above the clouds; the fields of their rest are pleasant.* Such is the picture in the third book of Temo-

* Temora, book iv. † Ibid. book v.
‡ Ibid. book viii.

ra: "They were like two spirits of heaven, "standing each on his gloomy cloud, when "they pour abroad the winds, and lift the roar- "ing seas: the blue-tumbling of waves is be- "fore them, marked with the path of whales: "themselves are calm and bright, and the gale "lifts their locks of mist." Fingal calls the spirit of Loda a *son of the wind;* yet, in addition to the spirit's own boasts of his power, we are elsewhere told, that "he comes in the roar of "a thousand storms, *and scatters battles from* "*his eyes:* he sits on a cloud over Lochlin's "seas; his mighty hand is on his sword, and "the winds lift his flaming locks."*

On the passage, cited from the poem of Carric-thura, and containing the history of Fingal's combat with the spirit of Loda, Mr. Macpherson has a remark, the import of which it appears somewhat difficult to understand. He asserts, "that it lets us into Ossian's notions of a supe- "rior being; and shows that he was not ad- "dicted to the superstition which prevailed "all the world over, before the introduction "of Christianity;" but does he mean to say, that Ossian disbelieved in the existence of *superior beings*, and that the belief in them was the *superstition* which prevailed? That Ossian did not believe the spirit of Loda to be a superior be-

* Death of Cuchullin, a poem.

ing, is evident from his story; as also that he denied the superiority of the *sons of the wind* in general: "I never fled," says Fingal, "from "mighty *men;* and shall the *sons of the wind* "frighten the king of Morven?"

In another place, on the prayer addressed to "any strong spirit of heaven," Mr. Macpherson observes, "This is the only passage in the po- "em that has the appearance of *religion.* But "Cuchullin's apostrophe to this spirit is accom- "panied with a doubt;* so that it is not easy to "determine whether the hero meant a *superior* "*being*, or the ghosts of deceased warriors?"

Here, we are involved in a degree of confusion, from which it will not be altogether a digression to endeavour to extricate ourselves, since it is only by so doing that we can properly understand the history of the sons of the wind, and of their Stones of Power.

There is often much difficulty in separating the doctrines of paganism, as to its gods, its de-

* The doubt expressed in the text, by the conditional *if*, is surely misrepresented by the commentator. The doubt is not as to the existence of the spirits of heaven, but as to the accidental presence of one of these spirits, in the particular cloud to which the poet refers: "And if any strong spirit of heaven sits on "that low-hung cloud, turn his dark ship from the rock, "thou rider of the storm!"

mons and its ghosts. Many mythologists teach, that the gods are but deified men; but the demons are plainly spirits of mortal origin; and the ghosts participate in the attributes both of gods and demons. Ossian calls all the spirits with which he is acquainted by the common title of *sons of the wind.*

What is the origin of the demons, and what is the magnitude of their power, appears from the account of Hesiod:

WHEN gods alike and mortals rose to birth,
A golden race th' immortals formed on earth
Of many-languaged men: they lived of old,
When Saturn reigned in heaven—an age of gold.
* * * * *
When on this race the verdant earth had lain,
By Jove's high will, they rose, a genii-train:
Earth-wandering demons, they their charge began,
The ministers of good, and guards of man:
Veiled with a mantle of aërial night,
O'er earth's wide space they wing their hov'ring flight;
Dispense the fertile treasures of the ground,
And bend their all-observant glance around;
To mark the deed unjust, the just approve,
Their kingly office delegate from Jove.

The period assigned by the poet for the rise of this reign of the demons or genii, is the *silver age;* an age in the account of which, says Mr. Bryant, we have a just history of the rise of idolatry—when deified men had first divine honours paid to them.

But, to this theory of the rise of idolatry, that is, of the worship of false gods, there is perhaps little reason that we should yield. The first worship appears to have been a polytheism; an adoration of a multitude of gods; of gods properly so called; not of mortal name nor origin, but simply powers and intelligences, and, as Hesiod characterizes them, *dispensing good.*

But, to their unavoidable belief in the providence of the gods, men added another belief, equally primitive and universal; the belief in the immortality of the soul. Of the immortality of the soul, a corollary is the belief in the apparition of ghosts.* Now, it may be suspected, that from this simple source alone, proceeded the doctrine of demons; subdivided, as it is, into those of demons, genii, fairies, and perhaps others; and the doctrine of the gods, properly so called.

In the verses of Hesiod, we see with how many attributes of divinity the demons are arrayed. The demons, therefore, make a near approach to gods; and we can easily show that ghosts make a near approach to demons, if not to gods also.

The demons of Hesiod move, like the ghosts of Ossian, on winds and in mists. The ghost of

* A *corollary*, says Dr. Johnson, seems to be a *conclusion*, whether following from the premises necessarily or not.

Trenmor, like the spirit of Loda, is described by the epithet of *terrible:* " Fingal rushed on " in his strength, terrible as the spirit of Tren- " mor, when, in a whirlwind, he comes to Mor- " ven, to see the children of his pride."* The guardian angels or demons of the Roman church are in a particular manner invoked for their superintendance at the hour of death; and Ossian's ghosts had the tender office of bearing away the souls of their progeny, when they saw their lives terminating in affliction: " Spirit of departed Conmor," exclaims Sulmalla, " are thy steps on the bosom of " winds? Comest thou at times to other lands, " father of sad Sulmalla? Thou dost come; " for I have heard thy voice at night, while yet " I rose on the wave, to streamy Inisfail! The " ghost of fathers, they say, can seize the " souls of the race, while they behold them " lonely in the midst of wo. Call me, my " father, when the king is low on earth; for " then I shall be lonely in the midst of wo!"†

* Fingal, book iii.

† Temora, book iv. The belief upon which this prayer is founded is common, according to Mr. Macpherson, among the vulgar of Scotland, to this day.

" Are you aware," says a modern writer on the worship of the Guardian Angels, " that this loving mother (the " Virgin Mary) often sends angels to attend the deaths " of her children?—The annals of her congregations " afford testimonies of the fact. A virtuous mem-

Nor was the ministry of ghosts confined to particular persons, or occasions: " O ye ghosts of

" ber of a certain congregation, three days be-
" fore his death, saw two angels enter his chamber,
" by broad day-light. One, that was his guardian
" angel, told him, that he was come in conformity with
" his duty; and the other, specially deputed by the Vir-
" gin, added, that he brought him the happy news of his
" death, which was fixed for three o'clock on the Sa-
" turday following; and at the same time the news of his
" predestination to a beatified eternity. The young man
" died at the hour assigned, and obtained another son
" for his father, according to his express promise before
" his death, made on beholding the latter extremely
" afflicted at losing an only son, whom he tenderly
" loved." " *Sçavez-vous bien que cette aimable mere en-*
" *voie souvent des anges à la mort de ses enfans? Les*
" *annales de ses congregations en font foi. Un con-*
" *greganiste vertueux, trois jours avant sa mort, vit*
" *entrer dans sa chambre, deux anges en plein jour,*
" *dont l'un, qui était son gardien, lui dit qu'il venait*
" *s'acquitter de son devoir; et l'autre, envoyé par la*
" *Vierge, ajouta qu'il lui apportait l'heureuse nouvelle de sa*
" *mort, pour les trois heures du Samedi suivant, et celle*
" *de sa prédestination à la vie bien heureuse. En effet, il*
" *mourut au même temps, et impetra un autre fils à son*
" *pere, comme il le lui avait promis expressément avant*
" *que de mourir, le voyant sensiblement affligé de perdre*
" *un fils unique qu'il aimait avec tendresse.*" La Devotion aux S S. Anges Gardiens. " Favours of
" this kind," observes the writer, " are of such daily
" occurrence from the guardian angels, that I could
" recount a large number."—Again: " Miracles of this
" kind happen daily, and to hundreds and hundreds of

" heroes dead, ye riders of the storm of Crom-
" la! receive my people with joy, and bring
" them to your hills!"*

If, then, we look either to the origin or the office of the demons, we find them only a superior order of ghosts, the ghosts of men of the earlier generations, ghosts of an obscurer history, and almost elevated into gods. Now, the doctrine of demons is not universal; and there appears to be no trace of it in Ossian. All his ghosts are modern ghosts; but their rank, in the scale of divinity, is not for that reason the lower. We find them exercising not only a demon-like influence over sublunary affairs, but filling the seats of heaven, and distributing rewards and punishments to disembodied spirits. In a magnificent view, which is presented to us by Fingal, of the future reward of virtue, and entrance of the just into paradise, it is from the spirits of his fathers alone that he looks for beatification: " But mine arm," says the hero, " rescued the feeble; the haughty
" found my rage was fire; never over the fallen
" did mine eye rejoice. For this, my fathers
" shall meet me, at the gates of their airy halls,
" tall, with robes of light, with mildly-kindled
" eyes. But, to the proud in arms, they are

" persons."—The guardian angels are styled lords, princes, and princes of the court of God.

* Fingal, book iv.

" darkened moons in heaven, which send the " fire of night red-wandering over their face."*

All men, who believe in the manifestations of the spirits of the dead, ascribe to those spirits the possession of power; and in the poets, who are the true historians of the popular faith, we find the nature of one class of spirits, or ghosts, greatly confounded with the nature of the other class, or gods. But if ghosts are invested with the powers of gods, then ghosts become objects of worship; for the question, how, when or by whom, the earth and its fruits were created, are of small interest to the multitude; but the questions, how, when and through whom the earth will yield its fruits, are those which affect it strongly, and govern all its hopes and fears. If, as the fact seems to be, there be given to the ghosts the moral as well as physical government of the world, and even the destinies of the immortal soul, why then, for the multitude, the ghosts are gods.

But, ghosts being considered as we here behold them, we shall be at no loss to account for any confusion that may appear, between the attributes properly their own, and those that they are suffered to usurp from gods: we see, that in common with the gods, they manifested themselves in visions, moved in clouds and on the

* Temora, book viii.

winds, and were called, in common too with them, *sons of night* and *of the winds*.

That, amid these theological errors, there was no *religion*, will hardly be asserted, after listening to the faith and the hopes of Fingal; for religion is virtue, practised through fear or through piety, in supposed obedience to the law of heaven, and in expectation of future rewards and punishments. If we were asked, however, in what degree, and upon what points, Fingal acknowledged the government of the gods, in the affairs of the earth, the answer might be less easy or less satisfactory. From many passages in the poems of Ossian, it may be thought to appear that there was a large mixture, prevalent in his age, of credulity on the one hand, and of scepticism on the other. Even ghosts, by some, were treated with little reverence: "Hast "thou inquired where is his cave," says Cuchullin, "the house of the feeble son of the "wind? My sword might find that voice, and "force his knowledge from him. And small "is his knowledge, Connal! for he was here "[alive] to-day: he could not have gone be-"yond our hills; and who could tell him there "of our death?"—But Ossian condemns this doctrine: "Ghosts fly on clouds, and ride on "winds," *said Connal's voice of wisdom:* "they "rest together in their caves, and talk of mor-"tal men."—Yet, on the whole, Ossian unques-

tionably inculcates, that man has no intercourse on earth with any being of strength superior to his own; and in this respect we perceive a freedom from vulgar superstition. Further, he acknowledges, in the heaven of the just, no beings of more importance than the ghosts of his fathers. Whether or not these doctrines necessarily involve atheism, is another question.

Thus, then, paganism teaches what may be called a psycho-theology, embracing the gods, (styled by the Greeks exclusively the Immortals,) and demons or ghosts, the souls of men, exalted. Men, say our mythologists, have been deified; but it may be worth while to observe, in what manner, and from what causes. Priest-craft is the usual agent to which religious impostures are ascribed; but sufficient attention is not made to the operation of a long lapse of ages, to the absence of letters, to the multiplication and intermixture of traditions, and to the creations of the popular fancy: in general, the priest teaches what the people believe.

We see that, in every particular, ghosts are likened to gods. Like the gods, they appear in visions, and this in similar situations: "Seven "nights, Fillan laid his head on the tomb, and "saw his father in his dreams."* When Connal saw the ghost of Crugal in his sleep, "a "*stone*, with its moss, supported his head."†

* Temora, book iii. † Fingal, book ii.

When Ossian foretels that spirits will visit the slumbers of the traveller that shall lay him by the side of the stone of Crona, the spirits mentioned are not gods, but blue-shielded kings. Now, might it not happen, that in all these dreams, some venerable ghost became, from time to time, confounded with the person of a god? Might it not happen, for instance, that near the Stone of Power of some god, a dreamer should dream that an antique ghost, a blue-shielded king, known no more than the god, except by name, presented himself to his view, assuming the language of the god, and bearing the lineaments of the man? And might not such a story warrant the belief, that this blue-shielded king was in reality a god?—It has been said, that the Cabiric Mysteries were instituted, in order to conceal from the people the fraud of worshipping men for gods; but such a project had been more contemptible than needless; there never was a dearth of gods; and the people were the first makers of gods, and they gave the first hint for mysteries.

As to the entire circle of the splendid, and in many particulars enchanting mythology of classic antiquity, there is assuredly no single clew, by the aid of which its labyrinths may be explored. Some represent it as filled with the events of history, and some as the depository of

the depths of science; but in truth it is probably composed, not only both of history and science, but both of fable and ignorance, and all the contrarieties which many ages and countries, many conditions of society, and many descriptions of men, have been able to heap together. Some see, in the bull Apis, a king of the Argives who was a patron of the plough, and think the crescent sacred, because it resembles the horns; while others think that the merit of the crescent consists in its resemblance to the ark, and make Apis a god only because his horns bear a resemblance to the crescent: a third party see the original sanctity in the bull, as the beast that draws the plough, and allow but a secondary claim to the moon, for her resemblance to his horns: and all may be in the right; because to a symbol, once received into repute, it was an easy task to apply many significations. In like manner, Saturn is called, now a king of Italy, now Chronos, now Noah, and now the father of the gods; but it may be suspected, that in his original godhead, he was no more than what the Algonquin Indians call a *manito*, and worship at a Stone of Power. All the rest is the superaddition of ages.

For what were these gods, these Immortals, born only of the primal parts of nature?* what were they but *sons of the wind*, that is, spirits

* Hesiod's Theogony.

riding on the wind, spirits enfolded in mists, and resorting to caves, but *bright themselves*, and having their abodes *calm above the clouds ?*

The progress of arts and luxury, in Greece, imparted by degrees to its gods all the appendages of wealth. Then they had their golden couches and their palaces of marble ; but there was a time, when, in the caves of Mount Olympus, they could have said no more, than with the spirit of Loda, that *the fields of their rest were pleasant.*

The caves of Mount Olympus, in the mean time, were nothing better than the caves and the mounts that Ossian assigns to his ghosts ; caves, however, in which both ghosts and gods have been invoked, and in which they have imparted their knowledge of the present and the future : " What cave of the hill," says Cormal, to the ghost of Crugal, " is thy lonely house ?"

If, in dismissing the gods from further consideration, we finally demand the cause of that association which we have observed among men, of their ideas of the divine nature, with their ideas of the winds, we have to seek it only in the resemblance of the phenomenons of the winds, to some of the phenomenons of animal life ; and particularly the phenomenons of sound and motion, both usually indicating the presence of some living thing. Wherever there is motion, it is natural to believe that there is animal life ; and

it is experience alone that can teach us discrimination. So also, if we hear the voice of a songster, we are convinced, upon the single testimony of our ears, that a songster is at hand; and in like manner, if we believe that we hear the voice of a god, we come to an answerable conclusion. But, the sighs, the whispers and the murmurings of the gale are familiar to our speech; and so are the groans, the screams, the shrieks and howlings of the tempest. Nor is it by the winds alone, that sounds are produced in nature, such as, because they affect the senses in the same manner as sounds proceeding from living things, affect also in the same manner the mind. The sharp and irregular burst of sound, sent forth from a torrent, swelling during a storm, are well described by Ossian, when he says, "The "torrent *shrieks* from the rock."

As to the winds, so much do they affect the senses in the same manner that the senses are affected by living things, that addresses to them, as living, are common; addresses, sometimes in reference to their strength and motion, and sometimes in reference to their voice. But their voice is occasionally separated, in the imagination, from their strength and motion; and while the latter are left them as their own, the former is attributed to the spirit that they bear: "Faintly "he raised his voice," says Ossian, of the ghost

of Crugal, "like the gale of the reedy Lego;" and Connal inquires, "Shall we not "hear thee in the storm, in the noise of the "mountain-stream, when the feeble sons of the "wind come forth, and ride on the blast of the "desart?" An assault of battle is compared to "the thunder of night, when the cloud bursts on "Cona, and a thousand ghosts shriek at once on "the hollow wind."*

But these voices, so often heard as if uttered in the very ear of those that hear them, yet are poured from no lips that the eye can discover: hence the persons that speak are supposed to be viewless and unsubstantial; hence they are denominated *spirits* and *ghosts;* words implying no more than *breath* or *air;* or at best they have forms that can be but dimly seen, and bodies whose ductile substance yields to every motion of the wind.

For the rest, one character belongs to all the gods, whether rocking a stone in Jed Forest or Lake Ontario, or rocking high Olympus. They had an irritable temper, particular on a subject scarcely worthy, after all, of their divinity—that of the respect paid to their altars:

> Ne'er let the mystic rites of altars move
> Deriding scorn—but dread indignant Jove!†

* Fingal, Book iii. † Hesiod.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The same, continued.

STONES of Power introduced to paganism its sacrifices, its altars, its temples, its oracles, its prophecies, its priesthood, and the provision for the support of its priests.

While men are scattered, in families or small communities, over large tracts of country; while they subsist only by hunting, by fishing, or by the pasturage of their herds, the altars of the gods must remain in the simplicity of nature; they may make sacks, indeed, for the portable objects of reverence; but rocks and caves must be left to the injuries of the weather, to the litter of falling leaves, and to the intrusion of every obscener beast and reptile. When agriculture, however, has altered the condition of human life, the seats of the gods are made to share in the works of labour, in the accumulated gifts of wealth, and in the embellishments of the arts.

The first thing that is thought requisite is a wall or fence, by which that which is holy may be separated from that which is profane. Hence, the circle of stones was placed round the Stone of Power, if not as a perfect barricade, at least as a line to mark the verge and limits. The progress of luxury added next an outer circle, and by degrees the whole pomp of architecture.

Meanwhile, the Stone of Power lost none of the virtues for which it first obtained veneration. While yet the moss whistled on its sides, every way-farer experienced its divinity, and spread its reputation, and multiplied the histories of its power. One, wandering in the darkness of a stormy night, was on the point of perishing in the cold and rain, or of plunging into a morass, when, arriving at the stone, he threw upon it, with pious confidence, the last morsel in his wallet, and commenced a holy song. While he sung, peace returned into his breast, and strength into his sinews. When he had finished, an instant voice replied to him from the winds; the clouds dispersed; the moon irradiated the rock; and, the shadows flying before him, he was lit along the path that wound to his tent, his wife and children. Another, missing his road, and bewildered at noon day, arrived at length at an unknown, but holy-seeming rock. Fatigued and in

despair, he prostrated himself before it, and neglected neither hymn nor offering. Suddenly, a gentle whisper was in all the trees; a delicious calm was breathed through nature; his spirits were restored to him; he discerned plainly the way that he was to take, and which had been hid only through the malignity of a spiritual foe; and though the way was long, and though he had no food to sustain him, yet he resumed his journey rejoicing, and performed it with foot firm and light. A third, exhausted and famished, during an unsuccessful chace, had no sooner made an offering here, than a hind discovered herself in the thicket, and stood motionless to be shot. A fourth, of small faith in the spirit of the rock, yet offering, as he passed, a trivial gift, accompanied with a prayer for a sick family, found, on reaching home, that family restored to health. A fifth, compelled to sleep in the woods, had lain himself near the rock, but at a reverential distance. Before he slept, he commended himself to the spirit in his prayers; and in his sleep, the spirit visited him, and applauded his piety.

But, if such happy moments are to be enjoyed at short and occasional visits to the Stone of Power; if such favours are to be obtained by offerings seldom and irregularly made; if communications with the spirit are vouchsafed to an

accidental passenger; what might not be expected by him that should spend his life upon a spot so holy? that should sleep near the Stone of Power, not one night only, but every night? that should crown it with offerings, and honour it with adoration, not one day only, but every day? that should live but for it, and for its worship? Reflections such as these are obvious, and could not but occupy the mind of the devotee. But, men's minds are variously constituted, and variously directed; and while in some these reflections would but occupy the fancy, in others they would penetrate the heart. These latter would forsake secular pleasures and employments, fixing themselves constantly at the holy places. In some, the enthusiasm that carried them there would cool. No dreams would visit their slumbers; no forms would bless their eyes at noon-tide in the glade, nor no voice would murmur to them from the grove. Such would return to their villages, less doubtful, perhaps, of the goodness of the gods, than of their own unworthiness to share in their special favours; or, possibly, satisfied, that in their particular situation, worldly duties were allotted them, the neglect of which was a crime, for which no devotion to the gods could make, even to those gods, amends. Some, however, would remain; and these would see visions, would receive revelations, would utter oracles, and

would be gifted with prophecy. They would be entrusted, even in the minutest points, with the will of the god; for, making themselves his faith ful servants, they would be made his favoured confidants. They would know the proper times, the proper forms, and the proper objects of sacrifice; in short, they would acquire that science of divinity, into which the avocations, the diversions, and still more the imperfect holiness of the devoutest worshippers, would forbid them deeply to penetrate. Here, then, are two orders of men, the lay-worshipper and the priest. Here, too, is the origin of the cloister, and of the solitary cell.

But, such persons, so beloved of the gods, and so inestimable among mankind, could not but be willingly provided for, to the extent of their little wants, by those fortunate communities, of which they were the ornament, the consolation, the instructors and the mediators. Indeed, every difficulty of this kind would be removed, simply by the readiness with which the priest might subsist himself upon the food offered in sacrifice.

Among writers that find pleasure in vulgar topics of railing, shrewd guesses are not unfrequent, that the priests of many worships feed upon the viands that the people offer to the gods. It is very doubtful, meanwhile, whether the gods were

ever believed, or designed, to be the actual consumers of such viands; and it is certain, that among the means devised by paganism, for finally disposing of the food offered in sacrifice, is that of eating it in sacrifice. Many anecdotes might be adduced, to show the probability, that a devotee would be far from supposing himself defrauded, or the intention of his sacrifice defeated, if the priest should eat, or should put on, the things which he has offered at the altar. Nay, the original tenths or tithes appear to have been appropriations for sacrifice, and not for the priesthood; thus making it credible, as suggested, that Stones of Power gave occasion, not only to the erection of a priesthood, but to a provision for the support of the priest. The transition is one of the most natural and most inoffensive imaginable.

Jacob, when, as above, he performed his libation, and vowed his vow, vowed to give in sacrifice the tenth of all that he should derive from his compact with the divinity. A tenth had probably been long fixed, as the reasonable, or perhaps largest, proportion, which a man's offerings ought to bear to his gains, and was therefore the customary extent of sacrifice. Now, the sacrifice, whether left to perish on a stone in the forest, or to be devoured by wild beasts, or whether burnt at the time of offering,

could not long, even in the rudest times, be supposed to be received in its substance by the gods: the illusion, if it ever existed, must have speedily passed away. But, after the establishment of priests, and when even lay anchorets multiplied round the altars, nothing could be more admissible, nothing more congenial with the pious object of the sacrifice, than that these persons should be maintained out of the offerings. The interests of religion recommended this application of these resources, equally with the other; and when manners and sentiments, to a certain point, were changed, it was no more than rational to transfer to the priest, that appropriation which the people had been accustomed to make for the god.

Mr. Bryant, after observing that all fountains were anciently esteemed sacred, but especially such as were of any remarkable quality, and as abounded in exhalations, subjoins, that "it was "a universal notion, that a divine energy pro- "ceeded from the effluvia, and that the persons "who resided in their vicinity were gifted "with a prophetic quality;" to which it is only necessary to add, that we are to look for the divine energy and gift of prophecy, not so much in the effluvia or exhalations, (though these were sensible testimonies of the divine presence,) as in the vicinity, both of sacred fountains, and of

all other sacred places. The gods of paganism have always their local seats, and are to be worshipped each in his place. Hence the *genius loci* of the poet; for the poet is an offspring of the ancient priest; the genius that he addresses is the ancient god; and the wreath that he offers is the ancient sacrifice; the sacrifice thrown into the fountain, or laid upon the Stone of Power, or hung among the branches of the embowering trees.

But, as the poet is the offspring of the priest, tracing his lineage through the branch of bards, so his Muse is the priest himself, or rather the priestess, the imaginary minister of that worship on Olympus, which the priestess performs on earth. Mr. Bryant perceives the type, both of the Muses and the Syrens, in the priestesses of Apollo or of Noah, or of the Sun. But, to whatever god the worship of those priestesses was given, the form of worship appears to agree with that commonly called druidic; to that which at one period appears to have been almost, if not absolutely, universal, and in which a large share of veneration was given to Stones of Power. May not the fable of the Muses have its origin, in a worship really celebrated on Mount Olympus, in honour of the gods or spirits of its height and storms?

CHAPTER XLV.

The same, concluded.

AS, from so rude and simple an original, there may be traced the primitive religion, its faith, its worship, its temples and its priests, so, by advancing a single step, we shall reach the close of all these sacred inquiries, and enter the field of profane literature, or region where human learning, the offspring and nursling of divine, first leaves the hands of its parent, and ventures on its career alone. We have now in view the history of the Muses, whose ancient character is sacerdotal. They are priestesses in the courts of heaven, resembling in all particulars the priestesses of earthly temples.

No account, that we possess of the Muses, is so full, and so attractive, as that which we gain from Hesiod; and, in the writings of this poet, it appears to be sufficiently discernible, that all the attributes of the Immortal Maids are copied from a mundane prototype, that prototype having its birth in the worship of Stones of Power.

1. Ossian, addressing himself to a *culdee*, whom he hears singing at his devotions, inquires, "Dost thou praise the chiefs of thy land, "or the spirits of the wind?" We have here a compendious view of the subjects, which the bard attributed to sacred minstrelsy, and such a one as strictly agrees with the songs of the Muses, described with more amplification by the Grecian poet:

JOVE ægis-arm'd they praise, in choral hymns
Of adoration; and of Argos named
Majestic Juno, gliding on her way
With golden-sandaled feet; and her whose eyes
Glitter with azure light, Minerva, born
From Jove: Apollo, sire of prophecy,
And Dian, joyous in the sounding shaft;
Earth-shaker, Neptune; earth-enclasping god;
And Themis, name adorable in heaven;
And Venus, lovely with the tremulous lids;
And Hebe, who with golden fillet binds
Her brow; and fair Dione, and the Morn,
And the great Sun, and the resplendent Moon;
Latona and Iäpetus, and him
Of mazy counsel, Saturn; and the Earth;
And the vast Ocean; and the sable Night,
And all the holy race of deities
Existing ever.*

* This, and the several other quotations from Hesiod, are made from the recent translation of Mr. Elton, a performance recommended by much elegant versification, and by a critical research into the sense of

* * * They, a voice
Immortal uttering, first in song proclaim
The race of venerable gods, who rose
From the beginning, whom the spacious Heaven
And Earth produced; and all the deities
From them successive sprung, dispensing good.
Next also Jove, the sire of gods and men,
They praise; or when they lift the solemn song,
Or when surcease: how excellent he is
Above all gods, and in his might supreme.—
Now to the race of men, and hardy brood
Of giants, flows the strain.

2. The Muses sung their hymns with the accompaniment of dances that were performed in *circles*. The original of this description, which is commonly sought for in the custom of dancing round an altar during sacrifice, may with more particularity be found in the songs and dances of the outer circles of stones, surrounding the altar or Stone of Power.

3. As we find the druids and other priests described as dwellers in the circles of stones, and in other places sacred to devotion, so the Muses were dwellers on Mount Helicon, and were there employed in acts of constant adoration:

———The Muses—
Whose mansion is the mountain vast and holy

the original. See Remains of Hesiod the Aseræan, translated from the Greek into English Verse, &c. By Charles Abraham Elton. London, 1809.

Of Helicon, where aye with delicate feet,
Fast by Jove's altar and purpureal fount,
They tread the measured round: their tender limbs
Laved in Permessian waters, or the stream
Of blest Olmius, or pure Hippocrene,
On the high top of Helicon they wont
To lead the mazy measure, breathing grace,
Enkindling love, and glance their quivering feet.
Thence break they forth tumultuous, and enwrapt
Wide with dim air, through silence of the night
Shape their ethereal way, and send abroad
A voice in stilly darkness beautiful.

* * * There, on the mount,
They dwell in mansions beautified, and shine
In the smooth pomp of dance: and them beside
The sister Graces hold abode; and Love
Himself is nigh, participant in feast.

So through their parted lips a lovely voice
The Muses breathe; they sing the laws that bind
The universal heaven; the manners pure
Of deathless gods; and lovely is their voice:
Anon, they toward the Olympian summits bend
Their steps, exulting in the charm of voice,
And songs of immortality: remote,
The dusky earth remurmurs musical
The echo of their hymnings; and beneath
Their many-rustling feet a pleasant sound
Arises, as tumultuous they pass on,
To greet their awful sire.

"Son of the distant land," says Ossian, "who dwellest in the secret cell, do I hear the

" sounds of thy grove, or is it the voice of the " songs? The torrent was loud in my ear, but " I heard a tuneful voice: dost thou praise the " chiefs of thy land, or the spirits of the " wind?"*

4. That the songs of the Muses had for their subjects identically those that belong to the songs of the temples; and that the effect of the one upon the minds of the gods, was identically the effect of the other upon the minds of men, is still more distinctly shown us by the poet:

—— Is there one
Whose aching heart some sudden anguish wrings?
But lo! the bard, the Muse's minister,
Awakes the strain: he sings the mighty deeds
Of men of yore; the praise of blessed gods
In heaven; and strait, though stricken to the soul,
He shall forget, nor aught of all his griefs
Remember.

So the Muses——

Who the great spirit of their father Jove
Delight in heaven; and, with symphonious voice
Of soft agreement, in their hymns proclaim
The present and the future and the past.
Flows inexhaustible from every tongue
That sweetest voice: the thunderer's palace's

* Battle of Lora.

Laugh in their melody, while, from the lips
Of those fair goddesses, the honeyed sounds
Are scattered far and wide. Olympus rings
From every snow-topt summit, and resound
The mansions of celestials.—
* * * Thus in heaven
The Olympian Muses charm the mind of Jove.

5. The ancient priest was at the same time a soothsayer and a prophet; and soothsaying and prophecy are attributes of the Muses. In reality, the *witch* and the *weird sisters* are but odious portraits of the Muses. "We know," say they, according to Hesiod,

——we know to speak
Full many a fiction false, yet seeming true,
Or utter at our will the things of truth;

and the inspiration, which Hesiod receives from them, they bestow through the medium of the intoxicating laurel, or no less deleterious bay; for it was certainly from this quality, that the laurel and the bay came to be considered sacred to Apollo, and to those whom the Muses love. The perennial verdure of those trees was a subordinate consideration:

So said they, daughters of the mighty Jove,
All eloquent; and gave unto my hand,
Wondrous! a verdant rod, a laurel-branch
Of bloom unwithering, and a voice imbreathed
Divine; that I might utter forth in song
The future and the past.

6. The temples of the druids, like all the more famous temples of the sun, were colleges of learning and science; and the priests and priestesses were its professors and teachers; and hence that distribution of the several branches of study among the Muses, for which, along with their gifts of poetic inspiration, they are now chiefly known. It is not merely for the powers of song, but for revelations of knowledge, that the Muses are invoked by Hesiod:

Daughters of Jove, all-hail! but oh inspire
The lovely song; the sacred race proclaim
Of ever-living gods; who sprang from Earth,
From the starred Heaven, and from the gloomy Night;
And whom the salt Deep nourished into life!
Declare how first the gods and earth became;
The rivers, and the immeasurable sea,
High-raging in its foam; the glittering stars;
The wide-impending heaven; and who from these
Of deities arose, dispensing good:
Say how their treasures, how their honours each
Allotted shared: how first they held abode
On many-caved Olympus: this declare,
Ye Muses, dwellers of the heavenly mount
From the beginning!

When that system of religion, of which the primitive rites were performed at the mossy Stones of Power, had acquired growth and consistency, the functions of the priest were separated, and parcelled among at least three classes

of persons, severally denominated, in ancient Gaul, *bards*, *euhages* and *druids*. Of these, the *bards* composed the choirs of the temples; the *euhages* cultivated what they called natural philosophy; and the *druids*, (who probably alone officiated as priests, though attended by the bards and euhages,) were professors of theology and metaphysics.* They, also, were those who

* Such appears to be the interpretation of the well-known passage of Ammianus Marcellinus, whose account may be considered as the best extant: "Per "hæc loco (the country of Gaul) hominibus paulatim "excultis, viguere studia laudabilium doctrinarum; "inchoata per bardos et euhages et druidas. Et *bardi* "quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta heroicis com-"potia versibus cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantita-"runt. *Euhages* vero scrutantes seriem et sublimia "naturæ pandere conabantur. Inter hos *druidæ* inge-"niis celsiores, ut auctoritas Pythagoræ decrevit soda-"litiis adstricti consortiis, quæstionibus altarum occul-"tarumque rerum erecti sunt; et despectantes huma-"na pronuntiarunt animas immortales." *Amm. Marcellinus*, 15. cap. 9.—In the above, we see a scholastic system, adapted to an advanced state of society, and designed for the cultivation of the entire range of learning, human and divine. That science, at the date of the institution here described, had made some progress among the people for whom it was established, is evident from the adoption of the third order, or *euhages;* and the songs of the bards were now doubtlessly intermixed with the subjects of study cultivated by

saw visions, who prophesied, and to whom, in general, appertained the diviner functions. All, however, were united in the earlier priest; and we find them, with the exception of visions, united in the Muses; and the Muses had no need of visions, because they were goddesses, daughters of Jove, and

> —— dwellers of the heavenly mount
> From the beginning.

It is this sanctity of the origin, nature and office of the Muses, that authorises those lofty notions of them, so little consistent with the parts that they are often assigned by later writers. Hesiod represents wisdom as coming only from Jove, but eloquence, or the wisdom of the tongue, as from the Muses:

> —— Lo! in this are monarchs wise,
> That from the seat of justice to the wronged
> They turn the tide of things, retrieving ills
> With mild accost of soothing eloquence:
> Him, when he walks the city-ways, all hail

these last. History and metaphysics alone were at first regarded:

> —— the mighty deeds
> Of men of yore; the praise of blessed gods
> In heaven.

With gentlest awe, and as he were a god
Propitiate: him the assembled council view
Conspicuous in the midst. Lo! such to man
The Muses' gift all-sacred.

Nor is the influence of the Muses confined to the splendour of public life, but equally powerful in all that relates to private happiness, to the consolations of religion, and the consolations of philosophy:

—— They to all ills
Oblivion yield; to every troubled thought
Rest.

* * * In unison of soul
Attempered soft; whose care is only song;
In whose free bosom dwells the unsorrowing mind.

* * * Unutterably blest
He whom the Muses love! a melting voice
Flows ever from his lip; and is there one
Whose aching heart some sudden anguish wrings?
But, lo! the bard, the Muses' minister,
Awakes the strain: he sings the mighty deeds
Of men of yore; the praise of blessed gods
In heaven; and strait, though stricken to the soul,
He shall forget, nor aught of all his griefs
Remember: so the blessing of the Muse
Hath instantaneous turned his woes away!

Lastly, the Muses are not, what in the decline of the ancient theology, the lighter poets, profaning the names of the gods, and traves-

tying their history, in some sort compelled them to be, singers of ballads that throw disgrace upon Olympus and upon themselves; but it is their proper task to sing

—— the *manners pure*
Of deathless gods;—and lovely is their voice!

CHAPTER XLVI.

Massachusetts—Sandwich—Barnstable—Chatham.

SANDWICH adjoins Plymouth, and is the westernmost town on the peninsula of Cape Cod, as it is also of the county of Barnstable. It occupies the whole breadth of the peninsula, which is here deeply indented on the east, by Buzzard's Bay. Two small streams, one falling into Buzzard's Bay, and one into Barnstable Bay, make the peninsula nearly a perfect island. A subdivision or second parish of Sandwich lies in Buzzard's Bay, of which the Indian denomination is Pokeset or Poughkeeste. Of the town of Sandwich, which was incorporated in 1639, a very particular description, written by Mr. Wendell Davis, is printed in the Historical Collections, a work published in occasional volumes, by the Historical Society of Massachu-

setts. A short canal has been proposed to be cut, by which the navigation of the bay on the west would be united with that of the bay on the east.

The first parish or society of Sandwich lies on the west side of the peninsula, and contains a village of respectable appearance, through which there runs one of the streams just mentioned. A small proportion of the salt-works of the county of Barnstable is in this town.

Below Sandwich is Barnstable, the county-town. The distance between the two villages is twelve miles. The county, thus far, is sufficiently fertile in its appearance, and is high; but, as I descended to the village of the latter name, a broad expanse of salt-marshes discovered itself, walled in, however, from the ocean, for the most part, by a border of sand-hills. On the level, were innumerable hayricks, of a small size, and appearing, at the distance from which I saw them, like haycocks.

Barnstable has two societies; in each of which there is a village and church. The sea is on the north and on the south. The marshes are on the north, forming the west margin of the harbour, which is about one mile in width, and four in length, and is accounted the second-best on the peninsula, commonly called the *cape;* but a bar prevents the entrance of large vessels. Its superior

is that of Provincetown. On the south, Barnstable has the harbours of Lewis's Bay, Hyanis Road or Harbour, and Oyster Bay. The vessels belonging to the town are coasters and fishing vessels. Maize, wheat, flax and onions, are sown here, and of the last many thousand bushels are exported; and, besides the superintendance of some large salt-works, the other occupations of the inhabitants are fishing and navigation: the same individuals are often both farmers and fishermen. Barnstable is a port of entry. The town is about nine miles long, and five broad; and the village is distant about sixty-five miles from Boston. The Indian name is *Mattacheese* or *Mattacheeset.*

I breakfasted at a public house near the court-house, which is small, but surrounded by several lawyers' offices. Only the female part of the family were in the house, the men of all the neighbourhood being at work in the marshes, making salt hay. The former told me that they were at a second breakfast, having taken a first at three o'clock in the morning, when they made *tea* for the men, before their going to work.

From the court-house in Barnstable, to the church in Yarmouth, the road is lined with houses on both sides; but, at this latter spot, commences the peculiar scenery of Cape Cod, a soil of white

sand, generally covered with sward and with forest, while in a state of nature, but naked and drifting before every wind, when once laid bare to the elements: for, if a small opening allow the winds to enter, they speedily tear up whole acres. The plain, around the church, in this part of Yarmouth, exhibits the effects of this violence; for, with exception of some portions, hourly diminishing in extent, it is one sea of sand.

But the houses between Barnstable and Yarmouth, constitute the largest collection on the peninsula, and they are no sooner past, than the road enters a wood, and the sand disappears, except for the exact width of the road. The trees are small; and in most places of so young a growth as to afford no shade; but the traveller is at least relieved from the drifting sand, and from the general glare. One phenomenon presented itself, produced chiefly by the particular quality of the road. It was the crowds of caterpillars, vainly toiling, in the ruts of the last wheels, to ascend their sides, and pursue their journey through the opposite woods. As they toiled, however, every grain of sand, upon which they successively placed a foot, gave way, and thus they were left always in the hollow. Though the dryness of the sand may in part account for their numbers, yet it was certainly the nature of the road, that arresting their journey, made

them thus conspicuous. Hosts of caterpillars march in all directions in New England; but, on ordinary surfaces, they proceed with ease, celerity and comparative secrecy.

In some parts, there is water, loam, and woods of a respectable magnitude. In one, with trees of this description in the front ground, I had an extensive prospect of grass-land, terminated by a line of houses in North Yarmouth, and a church.

At noon, I came to Brewster, a new town, formed out of Harwich, in order to advance, (according to some) the antifederal interest at the elections. Parties run high here, and I heard of griefs on both sides: what appears to be certain is this, that here, as in every other part of the United States, there are persons always able to govern the votes of the poor. Political animosities reach, too, as usual, to the church; and not only to the church, but to the graves of the dead: the antifederalists want to enclose the burying ground; but the federalists are for continuing a free access to the hogs. The merits of the question do not admit of being stated with the brevity in this place required.

On the fifth of September, I reached the easternmost extremity of the peninsula, and the point whence it turns to the north and north-west. This is the seat of the town of Chatham, from a principal inhabitant of which, Mr. Richard Sears,

and from his lady and family, I received particular civilities.

Mr. Sears is the owner of extensive salt-works, a species of manufactory to be met with in all the towns on the peninsula, and in which they are encouraged chiefly by their connection with the fisheries, but in part by what shall be explained below—the favourableness of the soil.

The manufacture, of the process of which the following is the outline, is sea-salt, obtained from sea-water, by evaporation, artificially forwarded. The water, being raised by a pump that is placed a little below high-water mark, is led by troughs into a range of vats or rooms, distinguished by the name of *water-rooms*. In these, it remains for a longer or shorter period, accordingly as the atmosphere happens to be more or less favourable to evaporation, till at length it arrives at the state that satisfies the judgment of the manufacturer: under the best circumstances, the usual period is three days; but, under others, it is six. From the *water-rooms*, it is drawn into a second range of vats or rooms, called *pickle-rooms*, the strength of the water being now such as to constitute it a brine or pickle. Here, it deposits a large proportion of lime and other earthy matter; and here small cubical crystals of salt, resembling fine grains of sand, begin to form upon the surface. This appearance is the

signal for a third remove ; and the water is now drawn into the last range of vats or rooms, called *salt-rooms*. Here the crystals, conglomerating, continue to form, and compose large and heavy cubes, which sink to the bottom or floor of the vat.

The salt, which is now complete, having accumulated on the floors, it is raked together, taken out of the vats, and deposited in a dry warehouse. The entire period of the process is usually about three weeks. In the spring, the same water, or, as, after leaving the pickle-rooms, it is called, the *bittern*, will yield two or three rakings. The bittern, after the sea-salt or muriate of soda is withdrawn, is still impregnate with Glauber's salt, and the manufacture of this latter article which is effected in the winter, by boiling, is therefore a concomitant of the former. The bittern is of so penetrating a quality that no cask will hold it. The sea-salt thus obtained, is of a good colour, and said to be superior in strength, by one-fifth, to the best imported salt. The weight of a bushel is eighty pounds.

The vats are oblong vessels, with upright sides, nine inches deep, and eighteen feet in breadth, by thirty-six feet in length, and stand from two to six feet from the ground, on piles or *tumbles*. Soft white-pine plank is used for

the floors, the harder woods injuriously increasing the weight of the vat, and being at the same time apt to warp. The height at which the vat is placed from the ground is regulated, in great part, if not entirely, by the quality of the soil beneath; and it is in this article, as above intimated, that the shores of the peninsula are favourable. If the soil is loamy and wet, the vats are placed on lofty piles, to allow of a free circulation of the air between the inner floors and the surface; for the dampness not only retards the process, but injures the wood-work of the vats: but if, on the contrary, it is a deep sieve-like sand, from which no moisture rises, it assists, rather than retards the evaporation, and the vats are consequently but little raised above it.

In this manufacture, the capital invested on the peninsula is said to amount to four hundred thousand dollars; and the annual return is a hundred thousand bushels of salt, sold at four shillings currency or two-thirds of a dollar, per bushel.

The relative magnitude of the salt-works, at present established in the several towns of the county of Barnstable, are given as follows; those, however, of Falmouth and Sandwich not being included in the return. The extent of a salt-work is determined by the superficial

feet contained in its vats; but by a superficial foot is understood a space of a foot wide by ten feet in length:

	Superficial Feet.
Barnstable,	415,582
Yarmouth,	307,500
Dennis,	650,800
Brewster,	623,300
Harwich,	60,000
Chatham,	408,360*

* The following is a list of the several salt-works in Chatham, reckoned by their superficial feet:

Reuben Ryder,	69,000
Ezra Crowell,	50,000
Stephen Smith,	19,000
Salathiel Nickerson,	15,000
Zenus Ryder & Co.	25,000
Joseph Young,	10,000
Edward Kemp,	10,000
Jonathan Crowell,	18,000
David Crowell,	13,000
Jonathan Eldridge,	6,000
Ensign Nickerson,	20,000
Leonard Nickerson,	9,350
Simeon Nickerson,	18,000
Timothy Loveland,	10,000
Joseph Doane,	19,000
Caleb Nickerson,	18,000
Benjamin E. Dunbar,	6,000
Zenus Taylor,	12,000
Richard Sears & Son,	48,000
Richard Nickerson,	10,000
John Ryder,	10,000

Orleans,	146,500
Eastham,	152,560
Wellfleet,	60,050
Truro,	98,506
Provincetown,	159,615
Falmouth,	
Sandwich,	

Three hundred superficial feet of works are adequate to the production of a hundred bushels of salt per annum. The expense of erecting them is estimated at from a dollar to a dollar and a quarter per superficial foot; in which the labour makes one-third, and the plank two-thirds of the whole. The price of labour for attendance is from a dollar and four cents to a dollar and a quarter per day, provisions and lodging found; and this article, which is equal to about a fourth of the salt produced, is usually paid for in salt.

Exclusively of one hundred thousand bushels, said to be made annually in the county of Barnstable, fifty thousand are made in its vicinity, including the works near Boston. In Kingston, there are about five thousand feet; and New Bedford has a large proportion.

This extensive manufacture is of much importance to the United States, particularly in its relation to the export of fish and other provisions. Before the peace of 1783, salt had

risen, in these countries, to the price of eight dollars per bushel, and it has reached seven, during the present interdiction of commerce, notwithstanding a large supply, obtained by those who went for it into Canada. It might be supposed, that in these circumstances, every encouragement would be given by congress, to the domestic production of an article of so much necessity; but this is so far from being the case, that the salt, manufactured as here described, is subject to duties, amounting together to twenty cents, or the fifth part of a dollar, per bushel. The regular profits of the manufacturer are variously stated at from fifteen to thirty-three per centum; but, under the operation of the acts of congress levying the duties, they are presented, as very small indeed:

Salt-works, of the value of 1,000 dollars, will produce yearly 250 bushels of salt, value, at the usual price of sale, four shillings currency, or sixty-six cents and two-thirds, per bushel,	$166 67
Deduct attendance, one fourth,	41 67
Balance,	125

Deduct repairs,	$50
Balance,	75
Deduct duty on 250 bushels, at 8 cents per bushel,	20
Balance,	55
Deduct additional duty, at twelve cents per bushel,	30
Total net profit, on a capital of 1,000 dollars,	25

Beside the attendance implied by the foregoing account of this manufacture, it is also requisite that the covers or roofs of the rooms and vats should be removed and replaced with a judicious regard to the evaporation. When rain is threatened, the roofs are put on; but, when this is not the case, the vats, to advance the process, are left open at night: if a sudden and heavy rain happens at that season, the attendants must hasten to the works, and put on the roofs. There are various modes of constructing the roofs, and the apparatus for moving them, none of which I believe, are allowed to have the perfection desired.

In regard to the evaporation of the aqueous parts of the sea-water, and to promote which evaporation, is the main concern of the manu-

facturer, several contrivances have been brought into practice, and, among others, that which I have described as existing at the salt-works in the neighbourhood of New London. The first cause of evaporation is heat, and the second is extension of surface. But the sun's heat is in this case the maximum; and the only problem that remains is how to extend the surface. The ordinary resource is that of spreading the water in broad shallow vats; and, except the moving cylinders, of hempen twine, above referred to, I have been informed of no other variation than one that was once tried in Dorchester, the town adjoining Boston. This consisted in the use of an engine, by which the water was repeatedly thrown upon an inclined plane of wood, whence it returned into the pump-well. An increased exposure to the atmosphere necessarily attended this process; but, neither this, nor any other improvement upon the ordinary salt-works, has been found to remunerate, by increased profits, an increased expense.

From the eastern extremity of the town of Chatham, a narrow tongue of sand projects to the southward, in length about eight or ten miles, and terminating in a point, called Sandy Point and Cape Malebarre. The latter is the name understood to have been given to it by M. de Champlain, in the year 1605; a name having allusion to a

bar, on which he narrowly escaped losing his vessel. On this point is a house and other accommodations, provided in case of shipwreck, by the Humane Society of Massachusetts.

That Sandy Point is the Cape Malebarre, (erroneously spelt Malabar,) of the French, is a settled truth, with the geographers of New England,* except that I find one or two who make it synonymous with Cape Cod.† But, if the French historian, Charlevoix, has not misapprehended M. de Champlain's narrative, Cape Malebarre can be neither the Sandy Point nor the Cape Cod of the English, but their Cape Ann, which is to the north of Cape Cod, called, by M. de Champlain, from its white sands, Cape Blanc; a position to be denied, only after disproving the facts stated.

In the year 1604, the French, under M. de Monts, established themselves, as it is said, on a small island, twenty leagues to the southward of the river De Saint-Jean or St. John's, and gave to the island the name of Ile de Sainte Croix. The situation, however, was found to be unfit for the establishment of a colony; and, early in the spring, M. de Monts re-embarked, in

* American Universal Geography.

† American Gazetteer, article *Cape Cod;* and the American Annals, 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 124. *note.*

search of one that might be better. He ran southerly along the coast, which he found lying east and west for eighty leagues, or from the river De Saint-Jean to the river Kinibequi or Kennebec. Beyond, or to the southward of the Kennebec, he followed the coast, which here lay north and south, as far as a point of land which M. de Champlain, who, during the winter, had employed himself in exploring the country, had named *Male-barre*, because his vessel was nearly lost at the place.—He had even taken possession of it, continues the historian, as well as of Cape Blanc or *Cape Cod, which is beyond it*, though the English did not suffer themselves to be restrained by this circumstance from settling upon it, shortly after.* Cape Malebarre is therefore to the northward of Cape Cod or Cape Blanc, and is no other than Cape Ann. Cape Ann and Cape Cod are respectively the north and south points of Massachusetts Bay.

* " *Il prit sa route au sud, rangea la côte, qui court est*
" *et ouest l'espace de quatre-vingt lieuës, depuis la riviere*
" *de Saint-Jean, jusqu'au Kinibequi; puis nord et sud,*
" *jusqu'à une pointe, que Champlain, qui pendant l'hyver*
" *s'était occupé à visiter le pays, avait nommé* Male-barre,
" *parceque sa barque y avait couru risque d'échoüer. Il*
" *en avait même pris possession au nom du roi, aussi bien*
" *que du Cap Blanc ou Cap Codd, qui est au delà; ce*
" *qui n'a point empêché les Anglais de s'y établir, peu de*
" *tems après.* Charlevoix, Hist. Gen. de la Nouv.
" France, liv. iii.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Massachusetts—Orleans—Wellfleet—Provincetown.

THE lands in Chatham are in part of moderate elevation, but in part also both low and sandy. In some of the open spaces, where the wind has swept away the turf, it has also carried with it the soil, to the depth of three feet or more, leaving only here and there some diminutive banks, of the height of the original surface. The sub-soil, thus discovered, exhibits a thick stratum of shells, lying at about two feet below the turf.

A sandy road carried me into the town of Orleans, through which I was to pass, in my way to Provincetown, at the end of the peninsula. The landscape is far from unpleasing, being diversified with hills and woods, and small bodies of water, and (though Orleans has no good harbour,) with frequent inlets of the sea. Many of the houses are well built; and at one of this description, in the town of Eastham, I breakfast-

ed, on Sunday morning, the sixth of September. Behind it was an inlet, on the shore of which were mounted two or three pieces of cannon.—These were part of the guns of a merchant vessel, stranded, not many years since, upon the coast; and in my further progress toward the cape, I had occasion to see additional monuments of the same kind, of the shipwrecks frequent on this dangerous coast. A little further on the road, a group of girls and children, washing clothes in the water, ornamented for a short space the region of deep sands that surrounded them. Further on, I found extensive plains, in part covered with wood, and in part employed as pastures. Both woods and pastures are here of a very humble quality, except where there is an immediate proximity of water. The timber consists almost exclusively in black pine and oak, generally intermixed, but sometimes, for large tracts, in separate woods. Where the oak is alone, and where it predominates, there is much underwood; but where the pine only is found, the ground beneath is nearly bare, sustaining but dwarfish plants, such as the *partridge-berry*, sometimes called the *tea plant* and *Indian tea*, and some other diminutive creepers. It is a fact commonly asserted, in this part of the country, that if a natural growth of pine be removed, a natural growth, not of pine, but of oak, will invariably

follow; and the same of oak, the second growth being always different from the preceding one. The actual condition of the woods appeared to bear testimony to the fact; and other facts, of a like nature, are elsewhere stated. Some, however, go so far as to say, that the growths will continue to come in alternate order; that the oak which has succeeded pine, will itself be succeeded by pine again; but, upon this point, fewer speak with confidence than upon the other.—Eastham has been able to export fifteen hundred bushels of maize in a season.

Below Eastham is Wellfleet, rich in salt marshes, which feed large numbers of black-cattle and horses; and rich, too, like all the other towns in the neighbourhood, in fish and in sand-clams, (*sabella granulata.*) In Wellfleet, after ascending and descending many sandy excavations, such as form the roads on the sides of the hills, and after leaving behind me many green shady dells, I reached a vast region of sand, in the midst of which is its church or meeting-house.

At a mile or two before I reached it, I had been joined company by one of the inhabitants, who, with a civility always promptly offered in New England, accommodated me with a seat in his pew. None of the churches below Brewster have spires; a circumstance that gener-

ally bespeaks poverty, in this and all the country that I have passed through; but spires can be but of new introduction, and the fashion may not yet have reached these districts. Opposite the church is a range of covered stalls, for horses; a common appendage to the churches in all the towns, and particularly needful here, and in this season, where and when the animals are obliged to stand in a deep sand, exposed, but for this shelter, to a burning sun.

In the church, which is of modern carpentry, two particulars most attracted my notice; one, a violent and thundering noise, such as threatened the fall of the roof, and of which I did not discover, but on a repetition, the cause. This took place, whenever the congregation, after standing up, sat down; and resulted from a contrivance in the seats, of abundant ingenuity. As, in standing against the side of a pew, the knees may be vexed by the edge of a projecting seat, the seats are all composed of two parts, joined together by hinges. Now, when the congregation rises, every member lifts his seat; and when it prepares to sit down, he puts, or rather throws down the seat; and this throwing down not being performed with all the gentleness possible, the effect produced was such as I have described.

The other particular consisted in the appearance of the leader of the choir, who sat in a large gallery, together with some twenty singers; and who, arrayed in a printed cotton morning-gown, had placed himself on the top of the partition of the pew, one leg being supported by the front of the gallery, and the other lying along the top of the partition.—In all this, there is no mention of the rural beauties, nor of the bonnets; and yet it is highly proper that the reader should be enabled to figure to himself both beauties and bonnets worthy of praise, even amid the sands of Wellfleet.—But, the service came to an end; the beauties ascended their pillions; their horses waded through the sand; and I went to a short distance to dinner.—There is a harbour adjacent, for fishing vessels.

As, on this road, which is no thoroughfare, the appearance of a stranger is a little remarkable, my travelling acquaintance had abundant employment, both before and after divine service, in relating, to successive knots of auditors, the most prominent particulars concerning me, either that he had received from myself, or that he had been able to conjecture; and as these auditors then retired to their respective homes, I soon found myself known, even in the remoter parts of the town. In one instance, a man took the trouble to halloo to me, informing me

that I was an *Englishman*, with the addition of some small opprobrious language that has escaped my memory. The comment of a native of New England would probably be, that there must be a deficiency of schools in the place; but I mention the circumstance chiefly for its singularity. With scarcely another exception, I have found every individual, of whatever domestic party, more forward, in all personal addresses, to flatter, than to insult the English name.

The country, in Truro, is great part hilly, with a soil of gravelly loam, supporting lofty woods, and hollowed into verdant and well watered vales; but with tracts of sand, near the inlets of the sea, either drifting in the wind, or supporting a thin coat of beach-grass. Several rivulets and pools present themselves, and the whole landscape has much in it that is romantic. Night approached, and I passed some houses of respectable appearance; but I had no introduction to any person in Truro, and was therefore to seek a lodging at hazard. As is usual, not only in this but other little-frequented parts, there are no regular inns or public houses, but a large proportion of the inhabitants *lay themselves out* to *give entertainment.* Among those who do not, some few are prevented by their wealth; but the greater number by their poverty. It is requisite therefore, to be directed to a householder of some

substance. In paying for the accommodation received, your host or hostess commonly declines to name any sum, telling you, that though they *entertain people* they do not *keep tavern;* but that you know what you pay elsewhere.

It was my fortune to be directed this evening to the house of Captain Obadiah Rich, an obliging, industrious, and apparently a thriving mariner, with a young family, a house, of which the dimensions were increasing, and a good tract of land. In the morning I went from Truro to Provincetown.

For a short space, the road lay over hills, on which were crops of maize, now nearly ready for harvest. The favourite manure is the king or horseshoe-crab, of which there are great numbers on the coast; and to each hill, that is to each three plants, there is allotted one crab, devested of its shell. The sand, thus nourished, yields an adequate return for the labours of the husbandman; the grain filling well, though the plant is of very low stature, and in a great degree without its broad and ornamental flag-like leaves.

At the foot of these hills, I entered a tract of salt-marsh, inclosed at its head by a fence, and open, at the opposite extremity, to Provincetown harbour. In all the lower part, the road lies along its edge, and is more or less commo-

dious as the tide is higher or lower; the flood tide driving the traveller into the loose sand, and upon the sand-hills; while the ebb gives him the use of the lower part of the beach, itself but soft, and thrown into transverse ridges of sand, and interrupted by rills of fresh water, flowing from the springs in the hills. The length of this salt-meadow is about nine miles.

I had the company of an inhabitant of Provincetown. As we approached the mouth of the inlet, the vertebres of a small species of whale, here called *black-fish*, became frequent on the beach, together with other signs of fisheries, the sole objects of pursuit at Provincetown. Soon after, at the distance of half a mile, on the sandy flat from which the sea was now fast retiring, we discovered a boy, and, near him, what appeared to be a great fish. The solitary condition of the boy, and the smallness of his size, compared with that of the fish, formed a combination sufficiently remarkable to draw us to the spot; and, on our arrival, we found our fisherman, of about the age of ten years, astride a porpoise of about ten feet long, in the middle of a sea of blood, collected in the hollow of the sand. Alone, and with a table-knife for his instrument, he was cutting the blubber from the ribs of the monster, a task which he performed in a very workman-like manner.

Upon our inquiring of him who had killed the porpoise, he replied, that he had killed it himself; and gave us the following account of his adventure. His employment, in the morning, had been that of attending his mother's cows; and from the hills on which he was, he had seen a shoal of porpoises enter the inlet. As the tide was ebbing, and the shore flat, many of them were soon embarrassed by the want of sufficient water to move in; and he flattered himself, that by leaving his cows, and coming down to the beach, he should be able to make a prize. Arrived at the water's edge, or rather going into it as far as he dared, he selected a porpoise, already embarrassed by the sand, and struggling to gain deep water. Him he boldly caught, from time to time, by the tail, thereby increasing his difficulties, till, in the end, the water, running fast away, left him upon the sand. The conquest so far effected, the boy had staid by his fish, to frustrate his efforts to escape, till escape had become quite impossible; and he had then gone home (a distance of a mile) to fetch a knife. Armed with the knife, he had proceeded to wound and kill the porpoise, a task of some labour and danger; and, according to the description, he had accomplished it only by watching for opportunities, and by alternately striking and retreating. The fish was now dead; and my companion suppo-

sed that it would yield ten gallons of oil, giving the little cowherd, at one dollar per gallon, ten dollars for his exploit.

Provincetown possesses an excellent harbour, land-locked on the east, west and north; for the peninsula terminates in a sort of hook, the point of which, called Race Point, looks to the southward. It was a station for the British navy in the rebellion, greatly to the profit of the few inhabitants then in the harbour; and a similar benefit is expected in the town, should the course of events unfortunately lead at any future period, to hostilities. The harbour is spacious and deep; but the town can supply nothing but fish, its own consumption in vegetables, and all the produce of the earth, being supplied by Barnstable and Boston.

The name of the town appears to have been given it by the ancient government of Massachusetts, which, while yet provincial, was desirous of establishing a few inhabitants on and about Race Point, for the succour of the shipping, and particularly of vessels and their crews when in distress. Fifteen years ago, that is, at the beginning of the French revolution, there were not more than three houses in the harbour; but there are now a hundred and eighty, with a small church, and a building containing both a town-school and a freemason's hall. Forty-four sail of fishing vessels, belonging to Province-

town, were said to be now at sea, fishing in the Straits of Belleisle; and, about a month after I left the place, the whole number was reported to be safely arrived, with cargoes, amounting, in the aggregate, to fifty thousand quintals. The houses are built on the water's edge; that is, on the outside of the ridge of sand-hills that everywhere border the inner side of the peninsula. Here, therefore, there is nothing under the foot but a deep white sand, which is driven by the wind into banks, like snow. Heaps are sometimes driven against the houses; and it appears that they would be buried under them, but for the contrivance of raising them on piles, and thus allowing a passage for the drift, beneath their floors. Two or three willows are planted; and it is probable that much benefit might be derived from increasing the number of these trees. Their roots strike deep, attracted by the water below; and springs are very numerous beneath the sand; for all that is received from rains or dews, upon the hills, filters immediately to their base. The roots of the willows would give stability to the sand, and their shade and humidity would encourage the growth of the herbage; and if they should injure the taste of the water, this element might be derived from wells at a small distance from the houses.

Behind the border of sand-hills is a continuation of the main land of the peninsula, here about a mile and a half in breadth. This is composed of small hills, covered with scrubby woods and shrubs, among which latter is the whortleberry. In the hollows are pools and morasses; but some houses are scattered round them, whose situation is thought to be at least as healthy as that of the houses on the beach, of which the atmosphere, in summer, is extremely heated by the reflection of the sand, and on which there is no vegetable corrective. From the hills, the eye has a near prospect of the ocean, on the opposite side of the peninsula; but, between this and the wood-land, is a broad white margin of sand. On one of the shrubby hills, we found a woman, with her son, employed in looking through a telescope for the fishing vessel of her husband. No vessel had yet arrived, and the whole town was filled with expectation.

Formerly, the cod-fishery was pursued on the Banks of Newfoundland, as, at a still earlier period, it was pursued immediately about this cape, for which the abundance of the fish procured its name; but at present all the vessels go to the Straits of Belleisle, which seem to be here called Straits of Labrador. When they went to the Banks of Newfoundland, they were accustomed to make three voyages, returning from each respectively

in the months of May, July and October. It is remarkable, that among the grounds of preference mentioned for the fishery of the Straits, above the fishery of the Banks, the fish of the latter are said to smell ill, and the former otherwise. If this be so, the curing, or as it is called, the *making* of the fish, must be less offensive in this town than in some others engaged in the fisheries. The *flakes* or frames on which the fish are dried are here intermixed with the houses, as indeed they are elsewhere; and the effluvia that escapes during the process is generally of the most unpleasant description.

The *making* of the fish is the employment of the women. The fishermen throw out their cargoes upon the beach, and the women spread and turn the fish upon the flakes. The flakes are stands of ten or twelve yards in length, three or four in width, and about two feet high. Branches of trees are spread on them; and the fish, being previously opened, is laid on the branches to lose their moisture. As the phrase of *making* appears to be borrowed, though with obvious impropriety, from the art of hay-making, so the fish, when *made*, is *stacked* in the same manner as hay; each side of fish being laid horizontally and neatly, with the tail inward, in a circular pile.

The little porpoise-killer is a fair specimen of the children of Provincetown. The boys are commonly taken to sea at the age even of six or seven years; and at ten they are expert fishermen. At sea, the fishermen live in some measure in a manner peculiar to themselves; and it is supposed that the hardness of their lives almost precludes competition in their trade: they take on board but a small quantity of pork, and for the rest depend upon fish. Other fishing voyages are said to be more expensively found; and so far the Cape-Cod men may have advantages; but, in the privations they endure, there are pursuits in which they are equalled.

The salt meadow, by which I arrived at the village, is of great importance to the inhabitants, as affording pasturage and fodder for their cattle. Horses and cows, that are not accustomed to the taste of salt hay, refuse it; but such as have been for a short time reduced to eat it, eat it readily, and thrive upon it; and it releases the farmer from the necessity of providing his stock with salt in any other form. As the meadow is scarcely susceptible of division into portions by fences, it is held as common property; each inhabitant being entitled to pasture a certain number of animals, and take away a certain quantity of hay. According to law, there can be but a certain number of animals permitted to graze within the

town; but the law is disregarded: the object of the restriction is that of preventing the destruction of the turf; from which, as I have before described, very serious injury follows, in these sandy and exposed situations. Plants of beach-grass are sometimes set in rows, in the sand, to stop the progress of the ravage, and even reclaim the naked sands; and, where they flourish, their spreading and matted roots effect the purpose.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Massachusetts—Truro—Eastham.

MY journey to Provincetown occasioned some speculation, not only in Wellfleet, but in the towns below; and I afterward learned, both in Provincetown, and on the road by which I returned, that its object had been positively ascertained.

There lay, at this time, in the harbour of Provincetown, a vessel, that for six weeks had filled the country with surmises, and even apprehensions. She had come to an anchorage in the harbour, and there remained, without discovering the smallest disposition to depart. Her captain

had taken lodgings on shore; but it was reported that there were passengers on board, who never disembarked, but for whom provisions were daily sent on board. She was said to have no freight, and the passengers were a gentleman and his wife and family.

These particulars, came at length, however, to be doubted. No very particular account could be obtained, concerning the gentleman and his wife; where they were born, or how long they had been married; and no reason whatever was assigned for their choice of this floating castle, the ship, for their country-house. Then, as to the nullity of freight, contrary rumours had gained ground, and it was said that the hold was filled with great guns and stands of arms; that, in short, she was a British vessel, manned by British seamen, and commanded by a British officer; that she had been sent in anticipation of the war that was expected to follow the seizure of the deserters on board the United States' frigate Chesapeake; and that her object was to seize upon Provincetown and all its flakes of fish, when the fish should arrive. In the interim, the state of defence of the place was considered with a gloomy eye; almost every male was absent; and the hills were strengthened but with two swivels, resting their trunnions only on heaps of sand.

The alarm increasing, despatches had been sent to the collector at Barnstable, and to Boston. The collector had long delayed his visit; and it was confidently whispered, that it had been said in the ship, that the collector would not be allowed to come on board, and that his boat would be received with a broadside. Under these circumstances, the captain's accommodation on shore had become a source of complaint; but the family in which he lodged had resisted the popular discontent; and, declaring that he behaved very well, and that they had no doubt all was right, had permitted him to remain: in consequence, there was another rumour, that a quantity of arms had been secretly carried into the house; that the doors and windows were barricadoed every night; and that the collector, and every other officer of government, would be opposed by small arms on shore, not less than by heavy metal in the harbour.

It was to this dangerous service that I had had the honour of being appointed by the public voice; for though a circuitous route by land was the least obvious method of arriving at Provincetown, yet neither this nor any other circumstance, (not even the story, at Wellfleet, that I was an Englishman,) had robbed the people of the hope, that I should bring the British plot to light, or at least perish in the attempt. Happily, there was so

much apparent union in the operations devised against the ship, that I arrived on the beach at the very instant when the collector, at length arrived from Barnstable, put off from the shore, to attempt his visit; and, whether from this coincidence or not, he met with no opposition, and was induced to come away in the firm belief that the vessel was an American bottom, and had nothing but what was American on board.

I had the pleasure of drinking a glass of wine with the captain, a native of New England, who told me that his vessel had been chartered at the southward, by the gentleman on board; that he had lain at anchor for some time in a cove on the island of Martha's Vineyard, and that he had come into Provincetown Harbour for better security from the winds. The gentleman, by whom he was chartered, was a merchant from the southward; and his motive, for living thus, might be that of temporarily avoiding his creditors.

In returning up the peninsula, I crossed the salt-meadow lower down than where I first entered it; and gained the main road at a spot near the light-house, in Truro. The intervening country was in part a light loam; and, as to its surface, consisted in open downs.

A heavy rain commencing early in the afternoon, I took shelter in the house of a farmer, who is also a miller, and the keeper of the light-

house; and did not leave it till the following morning. The light-house is built at a small distance from the edge of an eminence, on the lofty table-land that runs along the peninsula. This eminence is part of a remarkable vein of blue clay or marl, not more than two hundred yards broad, where it terminates abruptly on the beach, and growing narrower as it recedes inland, where, at the distance of half a mile, it contracts itself to a point: on each side, all the country is a sand. This vein of clay or marl was long regarded as the proper place for a light-house on the coast; and its solidity, not less than the high level of its surface, recommend it for this purpose: it is not, however, without a serious inconvenience. The impenetrable nature of the soil occasions the vapours that strike against it to remain on its surface; and the springs, on each side, arrested in their course, issue at its feet: hence a thick bank of fog frequently rests on it; and though this bank is not so lofty as the lanthorn of the light-house, yet, according to the laws of optics, it becomes an intervening object at a short distance (perhaps only twelve miles) from the shore. This light-house is also injured by an ingenious contrivance, introduced into its lanthorn. It is of importance to the mariner, that one light should be distinguishable from another light; so as that,

in the manner of a telegraph, the light may acquaint him, not only with the existence of the coast, but with the particular part of the coast. For this purpose, several modes of varying the appearance of lights have been contrived; and, among others that adopted at the light-house of Truro. This consists in a semi-circular skreen, placed on a circular frame, which being moved by clock-work, performs continual evolutions about the lanthorn, each evolution occupying a certain number of minutes—I believe *eight*. By this machinery, the light is made alternately visible and invisible, and presents various phases, like the moon; and this is the distinctive mark: but the practical result is not so favourable as must have been contemplated, before the plan was admitted into use. We see, that as the skreen is continually turning, the light is *full* only for a single moment in the course of each evolution; it is also totally eclipsed but for a single moment; but, during all the time between, it is no more than an obscure and imperfect light, with greater or less difficulty distinguished: the cotton and oil in the lanthorn are employed to give the greatest possible light; and the skreen is at the same time employed to hide it; and this, while there are circumstances enough, at sea, to obscure the best

lights, without any contrivances on shore, to assist this misfortune! A light that should appear, not steadily, but by incessant flashes, would be useful; but this cannot be the case with one, the fullness of which returns so slowly.

Truro is said to lie between 41° 57′ and 42° 4′ north latitude, and between 70° 13′ west longitude.* Its only harbour is a tide-harbour, at the mouth of a valley, called the Great Hollow, which declines toward the sea, and has the Indian name of *Pamet*. From the harbour, the adjacent county was by the colonists called Pamet, till, in the year 1700, it was settled, and called *Dangerfield*. In 1709, it was made a town, and named as now. In the year 1790, it contained one thousand one hundred and ninety-three souls, supported chiefly by the great fisheries, and by the fish of the coast. The men and boys are employed, not merely like those of Provincetown, in the cod-fishery, but in the more arduous pursuit of the whale.—In every account of the fisheries, great profits are represented as accruing; but, if the happiness of the bulk of the people, in all this country, depends upon the profits of their toil, it is, like their profits, both precarious and little.

* American Gazetteer.

One of those visionary writers, of whom we are acquainted with so many, might easily give to Truro and its vicinity the most inviting description. He might say, that the youth and strength of the country are employed, for two-thirds of the year, in obtaining, by hardy and audacious toil, the wealth of seas beyond the line, and even on the further side of Cape Horn; and while these (in the phrase of a New England writer) are thus *cultivating* the ocean, their blooming wives and daughters might be exhibited as deriving an easy subsistence from the bounteous hand of nature, that fills every bay and creek with fish: nay, even the decrepitude of age, and the feebleness of infancy, might be drawn as capable of finding, at the common table, a daily, luscious, and abundant food. The truth is, that early habits of life, and the lure of voyages occasionally prosperous, induce the male population to devote themselves to the fisheries. They begin destitute of every thing, and engage *upon shares* with the ship-owner and merchant. Before they embark, they must have an *outfit* of clothes and necessaries, all which the merchant retails at a profit; and next their wives must have credit given them at a *store*, on the credit of the merchant or holder of a share in the ship, unless such holder be in her neighbourhood, and be himself the keeper of

this *store*, or country-shop. Here, they obtain rum, molosses, wares and clothing, all at a high price. Meanwhile, their daily subsistence, and the subsistence of all the family, young and old, depends almost exclusively on fish taken with a line, or on shell-fish, raked out of the sand. In such an employ, in angling for hours from a punt, paddled out from shore, or in raking in the sand of the beach, the weakest, the oldest, and the youngest, may indeed employ themselves; and their prey, when they have caught it, they may eat. But, in this pursuit of food passes their hours; except, when by the light of lamps of fish-oil, they sit down to the wheel or loom. Their persons are frequently squalid; their hair hangs often in dirt over their eyes; and their dress is marked by poverty. And how can it be otherwise, among a race that depends for its subsistence upon a search after food, directed almost by the immediate cravings of the stomach; and whom a stormy day may deprive of a dinner, or send shivering, when the tide is out, to prowl upon the beach for food? The land that they possess, and which might be manured both with sea-weed and with fish, is but negligently cultivated; and indeed nothing, the fish for food excepted, is seriously their care. It is certainly in their power to do better; but, for the poor and destitute, the temptation is strong

to seek food at free cost to-day, and, having found it, to seek it so again to-morrow. The facility encourages the practice, and encourages indolence; and, indolence once become habitual, it is easier to suffer than to labour. Life is protracted and spent amid small expectations, and expectations that are often not smaller than they are vain.

The whaling-voyage is terminated, and the men and boys return to their cottages. Do they come laden with the profits of the voyage? Do they come to close a period of privation, and to open one of plenty? Do they come—to speak of plain life, and of plain facts—do they come to wipe off the debt at the *store*, and at least to begin a new account upon even terms? Far from it! I was assured by practical men, by dealers or merchants, and by farmers who have spent many years of their lives in these voyages, that it does not happen, oftener than once in ten years, that the shares amount to enough to relieve a whaler from his debts. In all the intermediate period, the close of every voyage leaves him on the books of the ship-owner, whose summons for the next voyage he must obey, or answer for the debt in gaol. While at home, he digs for sand-clams, and warms himself in the smoke of his hovel. For a new voyage, he must have a new outfit, and his wife new credit; and the result of eve-

ry voyage is almost certainly an addition to his debts :—he lives, however, and his wife and children live; and this is all. Nay, we have thrown out of the account all the subtractions from human welfare, incident to misfortune and to folly. No allowance is here made for hurts, for sickness, for thoughtless extravagance, nor for intemperance; but each of these occasionally adds shade to the picture, and, in its effects on the resources of the fisherman, commonly counterbalances the luck that may reward his perseverance, one year in ten.

As I travelled the road through Eastham, on my journey downward, I left on my right a glittering mansion, white and black, that rose conspicuous over the level champaign by which it was surrounded, and appeared to be the *château* of the domain. On making inquiries concerning it, I learned that it belonged to Captain —— Collings, and that I might be well entertained in it on my return. I found, too, that the road, leading from the light-house, passed its door.

I stopped, therefore, at Captain Collings's, to dine. The house stood by itself, except that a barn, and a small building, the captain's *store*, were on the opposite side of the road. The hour was early; and, as the family was about to dine, I was to dine with it, a practice, in

the less populous parts, most congenial with the manners of the country at large, though into which it has seldom happened to me to fall. I found the table very respectably set, and (though not before I had discovered my host to be a little talkative) sat down to dinner.

At table, Captain Collings placed himself by my side, having many questions to ask:—"Did I "think that that bl—dy Admiral Berkeley would "be hanged? What! not hanged?" then he knew the consequence—"the United States "would have Halifax and Canada and the West "Indies, and show the Yankee spirit to —— —— GEORGE!"

As I am never alarmed by the threats, so I am never disturbed by the invectives of the politicians of the United States; nor do I think it necessary to betray much impatience at any thing that foreign demagogues or partizans may utter, concerning England's policy or England's prince:

The blood of Douglas will protect itself.*—

By way, however, of experiment, upon my host's power of checking his volubility, and in the weak hope of obtaining some respite from

* Home's Douglas.

his interrogatories, I stopped him, at the end of a few words of this kind, observing, that I was an English subject, and that if he intended I should eat my dinner, he must not abuse the king.—It was in vain—he did not lose a moment, even in apologizing:—"Oh! God bless me, "sir, I did not intend to say a word against the "king! I have the greatest respect in the world "for His Majesty! But, you are an Englishman! "Well, when you first came into the house, I "took you for an Englishman: you look like "an Englishman; but you do not speak like "one;—you speak a great deal too well! You "must have been a long time in this country? "You must have come over when you were "quite a child?" My assurances to the contrary very much perplexed Captain Collings; he had never known an instance of an Englishman that spoke the language as well as a native of the United States. He pressed me hard to confess that I had acquired what I knew of the beautiful in it, at some spot not very distant from Cape Cod. Not succeeding in this, he returned to politics, and renewed his assurances of attachment to the king—only, He was for liberty and equality—Ought the poor to be starved? Ought the rich to have every thing? And it was only these and twenty other equally difficult questions that he required to have answered—and

that before dinner, or rather instead of dining. There are various styles of argument; but it happened, unfortunately for me, that the captain's was the Socratic—or art of putting questions. Had it consisted simply in postulates, or even in syllogisms, I could at once have dined and listened; even though, like a philosophical epicure, on an occasion somewhat similar, I had found reason to complain, that I could not taste what I was eating;—but, to have a gentleman at my elbow, resting his knife and fork, and looking me in the face, till I should so far disembarrass myself of the last mouthful as to be able to answer, *Whether or not the poor ought to be starved*, was a situation that constantly divided me, between my regard for his dinner and for my own.

Dinner over, the captain continued; I affected to sleep, but he still talked; and good nature required me to wake. The captain's lands afforded the next topics; and I was taken abroad, to admire the improvements already made, and imagine the beauties of those to come; for the captain is an improver, and a lover of good taste. Then, I was led up stairs, to view the apartments of the house, the new painting, and the wainscoats; and lastly we ascended the gallery on the roof, carrying with us a telescope. In our way, the captain called my

particular attention to a small bed-chamber, which he described as an exceedingly desirable lodging-room. On the roof, he made me observe all the flat and naked land adjacent, with its hollows and tracts of marsh; and then the blue ocean, by which, to the southward, the whole is bounded: "Now, sir," said he, "if you "know any gentleman of fortune, that has tra- "velled a great deal, and wishes to enjoy retire- "ment, I should be very glad if you would recom- "mend this spot to him; you see what a comfort- "able bed-chamber there is below; and we have "plenty of fishing, and plenty of snipe and plover." —Accordingly, I promised the captain to recommend, to gentlemen of fortune and travel, Cape Cod for the seat of their retirement, and by this present writing I shall keep my word: it is but fair, however, as is usual on such occasions, that I should add something on the salubrity of the place, and this I can do in the impartial words of another native: "The cape is a healthy situation, except "for those constitutions which are too deli- "cate for the piercing winds that come from the "sea. The inhabitants in general live as long "as in the other parts of the northern states."* Moreover, such gentlemen will have the conversation of the captain, who is a very sociable and good-humoured man, and who, if not a traveller,

* Massachusetts' Magazine, 1791.

is at least a voyager himself, has boldly pursued the whale, through the billows of the Pacific Ocean, and is now enjoying the honourable reward of a youth of industry.

Eastham was settled in the year 1644, by some of the more respectable colonists of Plymouth, who were become dissatisfied with the situation of that place. It contains but one parish or society, and has no diversity of religious persuasion; all the inhabitants attending the pulpit of the Reverend Mr. Philander Shaw, the fifth clergyman that has been settled in the place. I had the pleasure of seeing this gentleman, but only for a very few minutes; partly because my stay was short, and partly because, with zealous kindness, he employed himself, almost from the moment of our meeting, in writing letters for me to his friends, a service from which I reaped the most agreeable and valuable benefits.

CHAPTER XLIX.

English Language.

CAPTAIN Collings is not singular in his opinion, that it belongs to the United States alone, to excel in speaking the English language; and this is only one of the directions in which these too-fortunate republics have already risen above the level of their fountain. They not only speak, but write the English Language, better than England herself; or so at least it has been said in print, by a writer of Pennsylvania;—and I once heard it strenuously asserted, in a large company, by a great law officer of Massachusetts, that "America is five "hundred years beforehand with Europe, in "arts, sciences and civilization."—The opinion was condemned and ridiculed by the particular company in which it was uttered, composed as that company was, with the exception of myself, of natives of the United States; but the author was only unlucky in the circle in which

he happened to be, and in very many others would have found friends and plaudits.

"The English Language is undoubtedly "written better in America than in England," says the Pennsylvanian critic that I have alluded to; but, lest it should be supposed (as by some readers it might) that I have taken in earnest that which was said only in jest, I find myself under the necessity of extracting the whole context. It fortunately happens that the whole is sprightly; and, that for its illustration, I need only subjoin, that it is part of the postscript of a satirical novel, in which much humour is displayed, though chiefly upon local topics. The author begins, as he ends, by declaring that his book is written with a view to "language only, not in the least regarding the "matter of the work."*

"The truth is, as I have said, I value this "book for little but the stile. This I have "formed on the model of Xenophon, and Swift's "Tale of a Tub, and Gulliver's Travels. It is "simple, natural, various, and forcible. I hope "to see it made a school book; a kind of classic "of the English language.

* Modern Chivalry: containing the Adventures of Captain John Farrago and Teague Oregan, his Servant. By H. H. Brackenridge, Philadelphia, 1792.—Mr. Brackenridge is a native of Great Britain.

" In looking over it, I find in the whole work, " but one word I would alter; it is near the " beginning; where I say *figure* on the stage. " instead of appear, or make a figure on the stage. " I have carefully avoided the word *unfounded* " instead of groundless, a word in vogue, among " members of congress especially. The word " *commit* is good, but being lately introduced, " and too much hackneyed, I have not used it.

" Language being the vestment of thought, it " comes within the rules of other dress; so that " as slovenliness on the one hand, or foppery " on the other, is to be avoided in our attire; so " also in our speech and writing. Simplicity, " in the one and the other, is the greatest " beauty.

" We do not know at what time the Greek " language began to be written as it was by He- " siod or Homer. But we find it to have con- " tinued with little or no change from that time " to the latest writers among the Byzantine his- " torians, a period of more than 3,000 years. " The Roman language is considered as impro- " ving from the time of Ennius to the Augustine " age. The language of the orators, poets and " historians of that time is the standard. It was " not so much in the use of particular words, as " an affectation in the thought, that Seneca is " censured as corrupting the language of the Ro-

" mans. But Tacitus, after him, writes in a pure
" stile; and I have found but one conceit in ex-
" pression, in his whole history: meaning to give
" the geography of a country of a certain tribe
" of the Germans; they are, says he, separated
" from the Sequani by Mount Jura, from the
" —— by the lake ——, from the —— by the
" river ——, and from the Atabani by *mutual*
" *fear*. I do not find so much fault with the
" stile of Pliny, as the heaviness of his thoughts
" and expressions. However, the Latin stile of
" writing retained its propriety and other excel-
" lencies tolerably well, till the monks got pos-
" session of it, and brought it down to a jargon
" that is now exploded; and we recur to the
" pure originals of Horace, Virgil, Cicero and
" Sallust.

" The French language is corrupting fast;
" and not in the use of words, but in the affecta-
" tion of surprise, in the structure of the sen-
" tence, or the turn of the expression. Mira-
" beau was free from this; but not the Abbé
" Raynal. To give an example: meaning to
" say, which he might have done in a simple
" manner, that about this time the English cast
" their eyes upon Goa, as a place where, &c.
" stating the advantages of such a port; he be-
" gins by telling you, that the English had oc-
" casion for such a port, which, &c. enumera-

" ting the advantages; and after this, with sur-
" prize comes upon you, and tells you, They
" wanted Goa. *Enfin*, says he, that is, In fine,
" they wanted Goa.

" The English language is undoubtedly writ-
" ten better in America than in England, espe-
" cially since the time of that literary dunce,
" Samuel Johnson, who was totally destitute of
" taste for the *vrai naturelle*, or simplicity of
" nature.

" The language of the Scots writers is chaste,
" but the structure of the sentence of the aca-
" demic Dr. Robertson, especially offends in
" this particular; his uniformity of period stri-
" king the ear with the same pulse, as the coup-
" lets of our rhyme, in Dryden and Pope. Hume
" is before him in this respect, writing as na-
" turally as a man speaks; his stile rising and
" falling with the subject, as the movements of
" the mind themselves."

CHAPTER L.

Massachusetts—Plantation of Marshpee.

RETURNING to Barnstable, I found that the salt hay, upon cutting which my friends at the inn had been so industriously employed, had at the end of their labour been floated away by the tide. This is a disaster not very unfrequent; and, to protect the stacks, they are either built upon high ground, or, if in the marshes, upon stadles or piles.

On the south side of the peninsula, and to the west of Barnstable, is a tract of land belonging to a village of Indians, and called the Plantation of Marshpee. The name is pronounced *Mash-pee*, and sometimes so written; and this is the better orthography of the two. It is properly *massa pee* or *missi pi*, the great pool; meaning one of the pools or ponds, of which there are several on the plantation, and which are numerous all over the peninsula. This pool is called by the whites Marshpee Pond. The Indian village is the most considerable of those remaining in New England. The road leading to it from Barnstable is woody, hilly and agreeable.

I was introduced to the Reverend Mr. Gideon Hawley, the missionary here, whom I found infirm, and very far advanced in years, but from whom I received a hospitality and welcome the most fervent and gratifying. I remained two nights in his house, and experienced much attention, not only from himself, but from his family also; and these circumstances have perhaps made the more impression upon me, because I had not reached Boston before I learned that he was dead! Mr. Hawley devoted a long life to the sole employment of Indian missionary, at first in the country of the Six Nations, and latterly on the Plantation of Marshpee. At this place, the mission is in part supported by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in part by a fund in the hands of Harvard College in Massachusetts, and in part by the Massachusetts Missionary Society.

Mr. Hawley, junior, accompanied me over the plantation, which is of no small extent; the road, between Barnstable and Falmouth, running nine miles upon Indian lands. Some of the Indians live close to the missionary-house; but others are far off. The former are on the banks of Marshpee and Nantuet Ponds. The whole number of souls on the plantation is about four hundred.

But, when the inhabitants of this plantation are called Indians, the denomination must

be qualified; for a very large proportion are Europeans and negroes, or at least largely mixed with one or both. It is said that many Hessians, from the army of General Burgoyne, married into this community; and there are also Englishmen, and descendants of Englishmen, to be found here: and, with respect to negroes, it is represented, that while slavery was supposed to be maintainable by law in Massachusetts, there was a particular temptation for taking Indian wives, the children of Indian women being acknowledged to be free. From these and various other causes, of the whole four hundred souls, there is at this day only a very small number, perhaps not twenty, that are pure Indians. Under these circumstances, however, and consistently with what is to be seen elsewhere, the village is more likely to increase than to diminish; for, to whatever cause, moral or physical, the decline of the Indians, in their villages, among the whites, is to be ascribed, the fact is certain, that any mixture, African or European, produces an animal more fitted for the pursuits of civil life, less enslaved to, or less injured by, the use of spirituous liquors, and especially more prolific.

Of the Indians who reside near the missionary house, the greater part have wooden houses, after the manner of the country; one family,

however, still possesses a *wigwam*, though with some mixture of European architecture. The smoke passes through the middle of the roof; but the fire-place is of brick: the inside of the wigwam is perfectly neat. The furniture in the houses, here, is generally of the same description with that of the poorer whites. In one of the houses, I saw an aged couple, both of white complexion: the woman had had three Indian husbands, and was now married to a white man.

Among the wealthier members of the village is one Macgregor, a native of Manchester, in England. This man is in possession of a very respectable farm and orchard, both of which are particularly well attended. His land is close to the sea, and he is employed in ditching and embanking a tract of marsh, which is at present too much exposed to the tide; and though he lives in no solitude, and is not without the assistance of as many hands as he finds it convenient to employ, yet his enterprise, his situation, his wigwam, and the complete state of order observable around it, his straw hat, and general personal appearance, made me regard him as a second Robinson Crusoe. He informed me that he left Manchester before he was ten years of age, and followed a sailor's life till he was twenty. At that time, which is now twenty-seven years ago, he married his present wife. He has lived on

the plantation ever since, but has no children. From others, I heard, that when he first came into the neighbourhood, he had a stock of clothes, though in other respects destitute; and that his situation was not so bad, but that he might have married into a respectable white family, almost as easily as into an Indian. I thought it a little singular, that while almost every one of the Indians had a wooden house, this Englishman was lodged in a wigwam; but the wigwam agrees with the taste of his wife, and his own attention seems to be given exclusively to his farm and garden.

The plantation contains a certain number of industrious and thriving Indians. One, named Ebenezer Queppe, is master of two yoke of oxen, several cows, a horse, a wooden or *English* house, with barns and other appurtenances.

The church is at the distance of several miles from Macgregor's, an unpainted wooden building, in a small opening of the wood. On one side of it, and spreading into the woods, are the graves of the Indian villagers, generally nameless and mouldering heaps. There are, however, two grave-stones, one of which commemorates the virtues of a young woman who was a servant in Mr. Hawley's family; and the other, those of an unmixed Indian, who was made a deacon of the church. The deacon died

in 1771; and in good weather, his widow, an unmixed Indian also, who is now eighty-seven years of age, commonly walks to church, a distance of between three and four miles. On visiting her at her dwelling, I found her bent with age, and with some appearance of misery in her person and deportment; but she has a good house, with a very large parcel of land, well farmed. She long ago adopted an Indian girl for her daughter; the girl is now married, but still lives in the widow's house, and her husband takes care of the farm. Both in the houses and in the fields, the inhabitants that I saw were almost exclusively women and girls; the men being out fishing, or making salt hay.

The Indians, on this plantation, as in other parts of New England, are in some particulars under the peculiar protection of the law. They cannot be sued for any debt exceeding the amount of twenty-four shillings currency, unless contracted with the consent of their guardians: and their lands are in no case answerable. To many of their white neighbours, these provisions are believed to be very offensive; since, but for them, they might, at the cost of a little New England rum, long since have deprived the objects of them of every acre in the Plantation of Marshpee.

These people are very superstitious, and very fearful of going about in the dark, in which they are constantly apprehensive of being presented with terrifying visions.

CHAPTER LI.

Massachusetts—Martha's Vineyard.

FROM Falmouth, which lies to the southward of the Plantation of Marshpee, and occupies the point of land on the east of Buzzard's Bay, I crossed the arm of the sea, nine miles in width, by which the island of Martha's Vineyard is separated from the main land of the peninsula.

Martha's Vineyard, more anciently called Martin's Vineyard, and by the Indians, Nope and Capawac, is about twenty miles in length, and from four to nine in width, and contains three towns, of which the easternmost is called Edgartown, the middlemost, Tisbury, and the western, Chilmark; and to the west of Chilmark is Gay Head, a peninsula so called from the bluff-head in which it terminates, and of which the lands are held by another community of Indians. I landed in a cove, called Holmes's

Hole, at the north side of the island, and in which there is a small village, making part of Tisbury.

My chief curiosity was directed to Gay Head, remarkable from the beds of ochres, variously coloured, that display themselves on its face, and which, when the sun shines upon them, must produce, as seen from the sea, a very brilliant effect. From Holmes's Hole, the road leads through shrub oak-woods, for several miles, to the church of Chilmark, to the westward of which the country is generally open. For four miles further, there is a public road, running over hills, on which are scattered masses of rock. From these, there is a descent to Monamsha Creek, a fordable inlet of the sea, on the opposite side of which commences the peninsula, and the Indian lands, five miles in length, and said to contain about two thousand four hundred acres.

All the fences on this side of the island are of uncemented stones, after the manner general in New England. Tisbury and Chilmark meeting-houses are without spires, and in all respects humble in their exterior appearance. To reach Monamsha Creek, I was directed across some inclosed lands, to the south of a hill, called, from a mass of stone on its summit, Sugar-loaf Hill, beyond which I found a cottage, in

which I procured some bread and milk, the only provisions it contained, salt-fish excepted. The owner was afterward my guide, in fording the creek below.

Immediately at the edge of the creek, some Indian wigwams and houses of wood begin to present themselves. Near it is a pond, called Monamsha Pond, and which is valuable to the Indians, on account of the cranberries that cover its marshy borders. These berries they gather for sale; and from them the name given, both to the pond and to the creek appears to be derived.* The wigwams and other houses have for the most part an indigent appearance; but, with respect to some, it is otherwise; and in two or three instances there are well cultivated farms, and the houses have good barns adjoining. The land is a succession of hills and valleys, or rather ravines or gullies.

The light-house, in the house of the keeper of which I lodged this night, is erected on the beds of ochre. The height of the surface, from the level of the sea, is about two hundred feet; and the stratums, between the turf above and the beach below, are as curious and instructive, as the prospect that they present, when advan-

* Monamsha or Minamsha: *minac*, in some of the Algonquin dialects, signifies a *berry*.

tageously seen, must be singular and beautiful.

" There are evident marks," says a topographer of Gay Head, " of there having been vol-
" canoes formerly on this peninsula. The marks
" of four or five craters are plainly to be seen.
" The most southerly, and probably the most
" ancient, as it is grown over with grass, now
" called the Devil's Den, is at least twenty rods
" over at the top, fourteen and a half at the bot-
" tom, and full one hundred and thirty feet at
" the sides, except that which is next the sea,
" where it is open. A man, now alive, relates,
" that his mother could remember when it was
" common to see a light upon Gay Head, in the
" night-time. Others say, their ancestors have
" told them, that the whalemen used to guide
" themselves in the night by the lights that
" were seen upon Gay Head."* To this volcanic history, though apprized of it before my visit, I saw nothing that induced, or does induce me to give credit. What I saw consists in regular stratums of ochres, not indeed horizontal, but regularly inclined, and a surface hollowed in some places into pits and amphitheatres, and crowned, at the level above mentioned, of two hundred feet from the present high-water mark,

* American Gazetteer.

with a stratum of sea-sand, oyster-shells and iron-ore, beneath a very thin one of vegetable mould.

In advancing to the edge of the precipice, in order to descend, by some gully, to the beach, I collected, at spots where the wind had torn up the turf, a number of oyster-shells, some of which are very little altered, some thoroughly impregnated with iron-ore, and some imbedded in indurated bog-ore. The roots of the herbage are only a few inches above the level on which they lie, and beneath them is a coarse red sand, or rather gravel. It was obvious that these were not the signs by which I was to be conducted to the craters and their lava; and them therefore I left, to look for the latter on the beach.

Descending first to the depth of a stratum of yellow clay, and which may measure fifty feet, I came next to a stratum of white ochre or tobacco-pipe clay, in which is a broad vein, of a brilliant red. Both the white and the red descend to the water's edge, and the discoloured waves, at their feet, are here red with the one, and there white with the other.

The superior stratum is throughout a yellow or dun-coloured clay; and the white ochre is only a broader vein than the red, running south from under the light-house for about half a mile, while to the north the inferior stratum is blue. Thus, the combinations of colours, in this fantas-

tic landscape, are truly the *gayest* imaginable. White greatly predominates; but is relieved by broad masses of blue, red and yellow, and even green; for, not only the sides of the hollows are covered with turf, but large portions of the incumbent stratum, with its shrubs and herbage, have fallen from above, and lie on the sloping banks below.

Of these several ochres, it is only the red, of which the substance is uniform and pure, and the colour really bright. The colours of the rest require to be seen at a distance, and in the sunshine; but the red has no dulness in its hue. Of this, I had the fullest opportunity of making observations; because, though the sun shone for a short time on the evening of my arrival, my longest visit to the beach was amid a continued rain.

The substance, as well as the colour of the white ochre, is injured by the presence of several foreign substances; particularly minute fragments of quartz, and pyrites and pure sulphur. The substance of the blue is largely intermixed with fragments of blackened wood, by which, indeed, the colour that distinguishes it appears to be communicated; and, beneath this stratum, is one as worthy of remark as any other object at Gay Head, namely, a stratum of gray rock, rising no more than five or six feet above the level of the

beach, and which consists of the blue clay, in an indurated or petrified state, interspersed, like the clay itself, with blackened wood, unpetrified. I have fragments that I broke from the stratum, and some that I gathered on the beach, worn into pebbles; and, in both, the veins of wood are soft, resembling charcoal.

The presence of the fragments of blackened wood, in the native stratums of clay and rock, at the depth of two hundred feet below the surface, from the former of which they may be picked by baskets-full, is certainly a circumstance of some curiosity. The fragments are to be found in all conditions, from perfect wood and bark, neither rotten nor much discoloured, to perfect coal, of which the black powder may be rubbed between the fingers.

Here, then, is a complete reversal of the order of nature. Sands and shells cover the highest summit of these precipices, and the products of the forest are buried at their base. We look in vain for lava; and, as to the pretended craters of volcanoes, what are they but ordinary concavities in the surface of the soil? These concavities are precisely of the same class with those that I have before had occasion to describe;* and, like them, they owe their existence to the action of

* See Chapter viii.

water. From the oyster-shells and iron-ore on the surface, it is natural to infer, that that surface was once a part of the bed of the ocean. The ocean scooped out these pits. When the ocean fell to a lower level, the pits became ponds, and the shallower hollows became morasses and bogs. Mounds, which rose between the present edge of the precipice and the ocean, have sunk, and been swallowed up; as the present edge is sinking, and being swallowed up also. Vegetables grew, and iron-ore was formed. Thus much for the surface.

But, if the surface was once the bed of the sea, how has it happened that fragments of wood have been buried, at a depth of at least two hundred feet, beneath that surface? Must there have been a period when this lower level was dry land, and a subsequent period when two hundred feet of earth was accumulated upon it, and when seas rolled over it; and at length a third period, when the sea again subsided? All this may have been; but there is an easier solution.

The white ochre is a mere deposit of testaceous exuviæ. That such exuviæ should have yielded so vast a product, and that they should be thus collected in one spot, is indeed among those mighty works of nature, of which we witness the existence almost without pre-

suming to hope for an explanation; but, that they may be so collected, and may yield such a product, we have abundant evidence; and we know that they are found in the beds of great bodies of water.

This white ochre, this mass of testaceous exuviæ, must therefore have been deposited on the bed of a great body of water, whether the ocean or an inland lake. But, may not vegetable exuviæ have been deposited at the same time? On the borders of still waters, are not trees continually letting fall fragments of their branches? In this situation, do we not see dead leaves and twigs, blackening the border of the strand? Now, if argillaceous matter accumulate at the same time, these twigs, fragments of wood and leaves, will be buried; and, being buried, they will be preserved. But, the vegetable matter supplies iron, and the animal matter, sulphur; hence the native sulphur, the pyrites, the blackness of the wood, and the colours of the ochres. That the fragments of wood were accumulated in this manner, and not by any sudden overthrow of a forest, is made probable by the general diminutiveness of the fragments. In some instances, they are parts of large limbs and trunks; but more frequently they are of small proportions. There is also no necessity for attributing their blackness to fire.

But, these deposits made, it is still to be accounted for, that they now present themselves, not below, but above the level of the sea. For myself, I look to the subsidence of the ocean for the cause, and regard the island on which they are found as a remnant of a tract of land, once stretching to the westward, and which remnant is always, and at this hour, wearing away. There are others, meanwhile, who will more easily reconcile it to their imagination, that the island has been raised out of the sea, than that the sea has sunk below it; and, for their engine, they will probably choose a volcano.

That there have been volcanoes on the peninsula, (a peninsula of oyster-shells, testaceous exuviæ and argillaceous stratums!) is a position supported but by contemptible proofs. The pretended craters deserve no notice; and, as to the light and lights seen in the night-time on Gay Head, by the mothers and *ancestors* of persons now alive, it is to be remembered, that the oldest tradition of this kind can go back no further than the year 1620, since which Gay Head has been daily as well as nightly before the eyes of the colonists. The lights may have been the fires of English or of Indian fishermen, or of Indian huts; or they may have proceeded from the combustion of pyrites, or of sulphuric vapour. West River Mountain in New Hampshire, has vulgarly

the reputation of containing an extinguished volcano; but authentic traditions stop short of proving any thing more than the occasional occurrence of superficial combustion.

Following the beach to the south-eastward, the vein of white ochre presently terminates; and the soil, though it continues elevated, is composed only of yellow clay. To the north-westward, near the stratum of rock, are large rocky fragments, which, extending into the sea, occasion breakers. At the feet of the stratums of ochre, masses of this substance, of the various colours, rolled into the form of rocks, are intermixed; and the sea, sometimes throwing its thickened waves against the ochres, stains the red with white and blue, and the white with blue and red.

The soil of almost the whole peninsula is rich; and of the two acres which appertain to the light-house, a small proportion is cultivated by the keeper. One third of the whole peninsula belongs to the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North-America, by which it is left to the use of the Indians. The Indians, like those of Marshpee, are a mixed race, and two hundred and forty in number, in which the women and children make more than

the due proportion. On the soil, there were not at this time more than fifteen or sixteen men and boys, the rest being at sea, in the fisheries. This is a favourite employ, to which they give themselves, and to which they are anxiously solicited. Ship-owners come to their cottages, making them offers, and persuading them to accept them; and so rarely is Gay Head visited for any other purpose, that this was supposed, at the light-house, to be my errand. This business of inviting the Indians is a sort of crimping, in which liquor, goods and fair words are plied, till the Indian gets into debt, and gives his consent. Taking the history from the mouths of the white people only, it appears that there is often much to be complained of, in the business of the voyage, both in the Indian and in those with whom he connects himself. On the one hand, great advantages are taken of his folly, his credulity, and his ignorance; on the other, he torments the ship or share-owner with his indecision and demands, till the moment of the sailing of the ship. First, he agrees to go, and accordingly receives some stipulated part of his outfit; then he "*thinks* he won't go;" and then he is to be coaxed, and made drunk. Again, he "*thinks* he "won't go," unless such and such articles are supplied; and these articles he often

names at random, and for the sake of inducing a refusal. One Indian was mentioned to me, that *thought* he would not go, unless five pounds of soap were given him; and another, that *thought* the same, unless he received seven hats. Now, the share-holder makes a general calculation. He has no objection to gratify any folly, to the extent of a certain advance, by which, especially if he is himself the seller of the goods, he is every way a gainer; but, further than this, he refuses, of course, to go. I say, the share-holder; because an individual, taking a certain number of shares, undertakes to find whalemen upon shares, and to them he is responsible. But, if the whaleman dies, and no share falls to his estate, then the share-holder suffers a loss, to the amount of all that he has advanced. The Indians find their fishing-voyages as little for their ultimate benefit, as they are found by those that I have lately mentioned; and their obstinate addiction to spiritous liquors makes their case still worse: hence, an Indian, that goes to sea, is ruined, and his family is ruined with him.

It is less with the Indians of Gay Head, than with those on the western parts of the island, and elsewhere, that the share-holders, otherwise called fitters-out, are induced to resort rather to fraud than force; for these Indians are neither under the control nor the protection of guardians, and they are answerable for the debts

that they contract. In Tisbury, the Indians cannot be sued for any debt exceeding twenty-four shillings currency; and in Edgartown the sum is limited to twenty shillings. But, this restraint, though eminently proper for the defence of the Indians against the rapacity and arts of those around them, is regarded by the Indians with no inexplicable disgust; for, as they cannot be sued, so they will not be trusted. Hence, the Indians of Gay Head are in continual fear that they shall be placed under guardians, or that some law will be established, to abridge their liberty. My visit followed shortly upon one made by the Reverend Mr. Freeman, of Boston, who had then lately made a tour of the islands and neighbouring coast, on a benevolent commission to ascertain the spots proper for placing huts and other accommodations for shipwrecked mariners; but, the Indians, as I was informed at the light-house, had been much alarmed by his coming among them; had shut themselves up in their houses; and had received his visits with suspicion. They were fearful that he was engaged in some project for giving them guardians; and I was told that my own journey would add to their uneasiness.

These Indians are divided into two *ecclesiastical societies*, of which one is anabaptist and the other congregational; and both are taught by

Indian preachers, in orders. The anabaptist clergyman is a large farmer, and was, when young, of great promise; but he is now given up to drink. The anabaptist church, which is of wood, is built on the brow of a steep hill; and beneath, against the hill, is an apartment of stone, called by no better name than *the cellar*, in which the keeper of the lighthouse, who is also a farmer and a school-master, keeps an Indian school. The winter season is the only part of the year in which it is kept; and then the school-master has a journey of a mile, over the naked hills, between his house and the school. Some of his scholars are remarkably apt; and the rest are not below the ordinary level.

On the Indian lands there are no made roads, and for the most part only horse-paths. My host, at the lighthouse, was so good as to accompany me to the commencement of the road on the south side of the island. His mother, whom, with his wife and children, I found, in his absence, in his solitary mansion at the light-house, is in excellent possession of her faculties, at the age of ninety-three years. We sat by a peat fire; for this fuel is abundant on the peninsula, and wood is rare.

Along the top of the neck of land that joins the peninsula to the main body of the island, and to the east of Monamsha Pond, some beau-

tiful views present themselves. To the south-east is an island, only resorted to by fishermen, and called No-man's Land; and from the west of Squipnokit Point, a narrow strip of sand projects in nearly a straight line, forming the westernmost extremity of the island. Opposite this, to the west of Squipnokit Point, the surface of the island, near the sea, is low, and the road runs upon the beach. Near the point, the lofty precipices of yellow clay are now falling into the sea, like the ochres at Gay Head. In more than one place, the soil on which the road has lately run is gone. The grass has not yet grown on what remains; but it is no longer travelled, either because half its width has descended into the waves, or because a gulf, of a quarter of a mile in width, yawns between its disjointed extremities.

I took this road in order to reach Edgartown, which is in Oldtown Harbour, at the south-west extremity of the island. On my way, a hog, that by some mischance had turned his poke, so that his throat was squeezed into one of the acuter angles, came up to my side, carrying his head awry, and vainly shaking his poke, and at the same time foaming at the mouth. As he evidently came for assistance, I descended from my horse to give it him; but, now, his fears overcame his desire to be relieved, and he

avoided me. In the same embarrassment, he proceeded with me for half a mile, running close to the horse's legs when I was on my journey, but retreating if I alighted. We came, at length, to a farm-house, where I procured for him more efficient help.

Oldtown Harbour is much frequented in the winter, when vessels bound to Boston, from the southern ports, are often detained in it for three weeks together. With a fair wind, two hundred sail, including many large vessels, sometimes leave it at once. Many pilots live here, but it has very little shipping or trade. The town is inhabited by the families of mariners that sail in the employ of the southern merchants. Their families remain in these climates, because the southern are found to be destructive to New England constitutions. Some employment is also given here by the shipping of the neighbouring island of Nantucket; water being supplied on their outward-bound passage, and the cargoes, at boisterous seasons, unloaded. In calm weather, the ships unload off Nantucket, without the bar; but, at other times, vessels of less draught are employed at Edgartown, and the lightened ships follow them to their port. There is but one wharf at Edgartown. The packet,

that sails between New Bedford and Nantucket, stops at this port.

The harbour is in part formed by the island of Chabaquiddic, on which there are many white inhabitants, and sixty-five Indians. Martha's Vineyard contains four thousand inhabitants, of which half are resident within Edgartown, including Chabaquiddic. By the aid of brooks, two or three water-mills are turned on the island; but the chief dependence is on wind-mills.

On the island of Chabaquiddic, there is said to be a rock, which, on every side, drives the needle from the pole. A marvel, that is less easily explained, is mentioned as existing in Edgartown Harbour; namely, a pond, in the woods, which is always more full in a dry summer, than in a wet one.

The ancient Indian population of Martha's Vineyard is supposed to have been equal in numbers to the present white one. Among the vestiges dug up, are stone-mortars, for grinding corn, and what are called immense deposits of clam-shells, which latter are chiefly found near the village of Edgartown. By the road side, and opposite the cottages of the white inhabitants, corresponding heaps are now to be observed; but those that have dug near Edgartown,

are of opinion, that the Indians made pits for their reception.

Between Edgartown and Holmes's Hole, to which I returned, in order to recross the sound, the road is for the most part bordered by shrub oak. Sheep and cattle browze in the woods; and of the former the island is said to maintain fourteen thousand. Martha's Vineyard has long been celebrated for its sheep. In the rebellion, large numbers were taken, and paid for, for the support of the king's troops; but it is a common jest in the neighbourhood, that the number paid for exceeded the whole number that the island could have produced.

Holmes's Hole is a cove to the west of Oldtown Harbour. The houses, which are irregularly built, are about one hundred in number, and there is a small neat church. As at Edgartown, many vessels lie here in winter, and supply it with much business. Among those that keep public-houses, one is a physician and justice of the peace.

CHAPTER LII.

Massachusetts—Nantucket—Falmouth—Buttermilk Bay—New Bedford.

I HAD proposed to myself to pass from Martha's Vineyard to Nantucket, an island close adjacent; but, the risk, that as I was informed, was at this season to be run, of being detained on it by the winds for weeks, diverted me from the undertaking. What is chiefly remarkable, in the history of the island, is this, that being an inconvenient residence, and of no more than fifteen miles in length, by eleven in breadth, it nevertheless contains a village of a thousand houses, and a population of from six to seven thousand souls.

The island is wealthy, and its funds are of two descriptions, namely, sheep-pastures and the whale-fishery of the north-west coast of America. The inhabitants are chiefly quakers. Widows are numerous; but the boys, who are all brought up to the pursuit in which their fathers have perished, support their mothers. The whaling-

voyages are favourable to health, but they are full of danger. While the native male population is thus occupied at sea, the island supports numerous resident artificers and mechanics, who emigrate from the main. Their sons go *a whaling*, and new emigrants supply their place.

The harbour can be entered only by vessels of light draught, on account of a bar that lies across its mouth. The coast is flat, and the wharfs are therefore run out far into the water. One hundred ships, and at least fifty brigs and schooners, are said to belong to the port.

Near the wharfs, some rods of ground have been sold at the rate of thirty-two thousand dollars per acre; and a hundred dollars per square rod is no uncommon price. Such is the prosperity of Nantucket; and yet, as I have been assured, by a wealthy, commercial and intelligent native, so numerous are its incommodities, that it is only matter of surprise to see it still inhabited, and particularly since its whole business might be equally well conducted at the contiguous and more eligible port of New Bedford.

The history of the whale-fishery of Nantucket is of some interest, both in commerce and zoölogy.

It began in Nantucket Sound, in open boats. The species of whale taken was not the spermaceti, but that which is technically called the *bone-fish*, or fish valued for the article called in commerce *whale-bone*. When this fishery had continued for some years, the fish gradually became scarce, and at length was too seldom seen to reward the fisherman for his toil. Small vessels of twenty-eight tons were then employed, in which the prey was sought for, and found, at a little further distance. These vessels, being driven by a gale of wind into deep water, fell in with the spermaceti whale, which ever after became the chief object of regard. But this fishery, like the former, came to fail; and successful adventures were then pushed as far as Davis's Straits and the adjoining seas. Here, too, after some years, the fish ceased to be found, and the voyage was now stretched to the Western Islands or Azores, where, for a certain period, it was prosperous. Failing here, it was resumed on the coast of Guinea, whence the fish, as from all the former places, in time disappeared. Lost on the eastern shores of the Atlantic, it was once more recovered on the western; and the coasts of Virginia, Carolina, Florida, the Brazils and Patagonia, were successively the seats of the fishery, and successively exhausted. But, the chase was not relinquished here. Cape

Horn was doubled, and the whale, still found where followed, and still retiring when he was found, drew his enemy, from voyage to voyage, up the coasts of Chili, Peru and California, to what is called the North-west Coast, which is the present resort. The fishing of the North-west Coast, however, as past experience gives reason to believe, will not be more permanent than the fisheries that have preceded it; so that the fish, should the trade find adequate encouragement, may one day be seen to have been pursued fairly round the world. Meanwhile, the voyages to the Pacific Ocean have opened a further object, that of the commerce in peltries at the Canton market, the vessels employed in which, in the course of a voyage of two years, encompass the globe. From Nantucket, they depart in ballast. On the North-west Coast, they freight themselves with peltries, and these they carry to Canton, and exchange for the teas and nankeens of China, and the calicoes and muslins of India, with which they return, at length, by the Cape of Good Hope, to Nantucket. The trade here described is at present in more esteem than the whale-fishery. The voyage round Cape Horn, an undertaking of so much magnitude in the days of Anson, is of no account with the Nantucket sailor, and the health of the crews is well preserved, because much care

is taken in this regard, and because many opportunities are afforded for arresting the progress of the scurvy. Fresh fish is the ship's provision, in preference to salted meat. Prodigious supplies of eggs are obtained on the Falkland Islands; and, on the North-west Coast, frequent communications are had with the shore, whence vegetable and animal food are procured. Such is the account of this commerce, for which I am indebted to the conversation of a gentleman resident in New Bedford, but a native and old inhabitant of Nantucket.

The comparatively total disappearance of the whale, in the Atlantic, is an unquestionable fact; and the naturalist has his choice, between the attributing the phenomenon to the destruction of the animal, or to its flight: he may believe that the whales of the northern latitudes of the east coast of America had perished by the harpoon, before the fishermen thought of stretching to the Western Islands; or he may believe that they have retired from their pursuers. The numbers, in which they were formerly known as high as Davis's Straits, would perhaps appear to be exaggerated by historians, were they not supported by modern descriptions of the new seats of the fishery.

The earliest accounts, of the whale-fishery of the English, carry back its history only to the

year 1593, when a certain number of ships sailed from England for Cape Breton, some for morse-fishing, and some for whale-fishing; and, though the whale-ships were unsuccessful, yet they found eight hundred fins on the coast, where a Biscay ship had been lost the year before.* By *whale-fin* has always been meant the *barb*, from which the whale-bone is really obtained. The *morse* or sea-cow affords the same example, of ancient abundance and actual scarcity, with the whale. An account is given of a small bark, by which alone, in 1591, fifteen hundred morses were killed at Ramea.†

The whale was formerly numerous in the Gulf of Saint-Lawrence, and even in the mouth of the river of the same name; and, in 1604, the single harbour of Passamaquoddy is described as possessing a whale-fishery sufficient for freighting several vessels.‡ In 1663, when the royal

* Anderson's History of Commerce.

† Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 192. cited in the American Annals, vol. ii.

‡ Charl. Hist. Gen. de la Nouv. Franc. liv. iii.—The *Moucouadi* and *Moucouacadi* of the French is the *Passamaquoddy* of the English, formerly written *Magagadavic* and *Macagadava*. The same termination, *couadi*, *quoddy*, *gadavic*, *gadava*, is found in Chaba*quiddic*, the name of the little island that is on the east of Oldtown Harbour.

charter was granted to the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the adjacent whale-fishery was particularly provided for.* Captain David Smith and Captain Gamaliel Collings, of Truro, were the first that actually carried the fishery into those regions; but the enterprise was recommended to them by Admiral Montagu. Their first voyage, which was a prosperous one, was begun in the year 1774.

In 1801, a writer relates, on the authority of a *whaler* of Nantucket, that round the island of Juan Fernandes, "where a harpoon was scarcely ever thrown, the whales swim in shoals; "and that it is quite a matter of choice which "of the company they [the harpooners] shall "fall upon."†

The agricultural or rather pastoral interests of Nantucket are upon a peculiar footing. A small proportion of the land is inclosed, for crops of hay and grain; but the greater part is common-land. The island was originally divided into

* See the Charter.

† American Universal Geography, in which the name of Captain Worth, of Nantucket, is the authority cited. It is added, that the coast of Chili, where no rain falls, to interrupt the boiling of the blubber, is, for that reason, much more favourable to the profits of the voyage, than Hudson's Bay or Davis's Straits, and that a cargo, of the value of 6,000*l.* currency, is sometimes the fruit of a fifteen months' voyage.

twenty-seven shares; and, with the exception of a very few private farms, it is still considered accordingly. Shares, or portions of shares, called *cow's commons*, entitle the holder to the pasturage of a certain number of sheep, or of sheep, oxen, cows, or horses, in proportion; a cow being considered as equal to eight sheep, and a horse to sixteen: the whole number of sheep, to the pasturage of which the island is estimated to be competent, is nineteen thousand. The arable land, in common, is cultivated upon the same system. All the produce of the island requiring to be carted to the port, and oxen not being used for draught, many horses are kept.

The sheep and cattle range the commonlands, on which there is no fence; one consequence of which is, that two or three thousand sheep are sometimes lost at once, during a winter's storm. This misfortune is the result of an anxiety in the animal to escape from the fury of the winds, without providing for the rising of the tide. When the wind blows off the land, every sheep in the flock endeavours to place himself on the lee side, or behind all the rest. The whole flock then advances as far as possible on the beach, and there stands to endure the storm. When the tide rises, and the surf begins to break on the lee side of the flock, the outer sheep are successively washed away; for the in-

ner remain immovable, and wait till the waves fall also upon them.

Six hundred and seventy-five acres of arable land are annually planted by the proprietors in common. One year they are sown with maize, and the next with rye and oats. In maize, they yield an average crop of about twelve bushels, making an aggregate of 8,100 bushels; to which is to be added 4,000 bushels, for the produce of the private farms. In rye and oats, the six hundred and seventy-five acres, held in common, yield about 500 bushels of the first, and about 8,000 of the second.*

* See Folger and Macy's Account of Nantucket.

In 1791, Mr. Jefferson, then secretary of state, presented a Report on the Fisheries of the United States, from which it appears that the number of vessels, then belonging to this island, was 141, of which 132 were large vessels, built for the southern fishery. Mr. Jefferson, was misinformed, however, as to the agricultural resources of the island, or, as he figuratively denominates it, the *sand-bar*. What he adds, in regard to the attachment of the inhabitants to their island, is true, not only with respect to foreign countries, but even to the neighbouring coasts of Massachusetts: "The people, espe-"cially the females, are fondly attached to the island; "and few wish to emigrate to a more desirable situa-"tion."* The words of the Report are as follows:

"The American Whale Fishery is principally follow-"ed by the inhabitants of the island of Nantucket,

* American Universal Geography.

A few Indians, so called, remain upon Nantucket; but, of the unmixed race, two or three *females* compose the entire list. In 1620, as appears from history and tradition, there were not less than five thousand. Beside the depopulation by wars, pulmonary consumption is to be reckoned among their severest scourges. This disease, which, after the country-people among the whites, they call a *languishment*, and which is so prevalent in the colonial population of the United States, is equally fatal to the Indians. It is

" a *sand-bar*, of about 15 miles long and 3 broad, ca-
" pable of maintaining by its agriculture about 20 fami-
" lies; but it employed in these fisheries, before the war,
" between *five and six thousand* men and boys—and, in
" the only harbour it possesses, it had one hundred and
" forty vessels, one hundred and thirty two of which
" were of the large kind, as being employed in the
" southern fishery.—In agriculture, then, they have no
" recources; and if that of their fishery cannot be pur-
" sued from their own habitations, it is natural they
" should seek others from which it can be followed, and
" prefer those where they will find a sameness of lan-
" guage, religion, laws, habits and kindred. A foreign
" emissary has lately been among them for the purpose
" of renewing the invitations to a change of situation;
" but, attached to their native country, they prefer con-
" tinuing in it, if their continuance there can be made
" supportable."

Mr. Jefferson's Report on the Fisheries, 10*th Jan.* 1791.

remarkable, also, that the Indians, like the colonists, have always suffered from a decay of their teeth. Mr. Roger Williams, the founder of Providence Plantations, relates, in his MS, that when he first came into the country "the "Indians were vastly subject to the tooth-ach; "and that their stoutest men complained more "of that pain, than their women of the pains of "travail."*

Falmouth, to which I returned, is a thriving town, with a sea-port to which there belongs fifty or sixty sail of vessels; chiefly coasters, but in part of three, and even four hundred tons burden. The employ of the larger vessels is found in the southern states, for which they carry cargoes to New York, Boston and Europe. The soil of Falmouth is less light than that lower down the peninsula; but, still, more proper for the grain than for pasture. Captain Crocker, of this place, has twelve thousand feet of salt-works, the roofs of the vats of which are moved by windlasses; the ropes communicating with more than one range or tier of vats,

* Callender's Historical Discourse, p. 101.—In the comparison drawn by Mr. Williams, there is less force, however, than most readers may imagine; because it was a part of the Spartan education of the Indians, that women, in the pains of travail, should not complain at all.

There are two societies, with their churches, in the town, but only one clergyman, the Reverend Mr. Lincoln, who, dividing his time into five parts, gives three-fifths to one society, and two-fifths to the other; and the societies contribute after the same rate, to the amount of his salary.

From Falmouth, the readiest communication with the west shore of Buzzard's Bay, is the ferry; but I preferred to drive round the bay, through parts of the towns of Sandwich, Wareham and Rochester. At the head or northern extremity of Buzzard's Bay, is an inner bay, called Buttermilk Bay.

Thickly wooded hills, and steep declivities, distinguish a great part of the road between Falmouth and Buttermilk Bay; but, arrived at the bay, the country is more level and open, and composed of rocks and sands. Such, in particular, is the description of the soil for seven miles, between Buttermilk Bay and the church of Wareham; but the land southward, on the Agawam, is of a superior quality. The church is at the head of a spacious green, which spreads from the western extremity of a dam. The dam arrests the course of a stream immediately where it enters the sea; so that there is fresh water on the north side of the dam, and salt on the south. There are two other rivers in Wareham, upon which are fulling, flower and saw

mills, forges and carding-machines. Wareham has ten or twelve sail of coasting-vessels.

In this town, there are four poor persons maintained, of whom three are aged women, and one a male ideot. They are farmed out, at seventy, eighty or ninety cents per week, accordingly as they are able to make themselves in any degree useful.

Rochester, which adjoins New Bedford, is a busy place, and rapidly advancing in wealth and population. It occupies, in a direct line, fifteen miles of coast; and by reason of its numerous inlets, possesses a sea-board of at least thirty miles. Its inland limits comprehend part of a small lake, called Assawampset Pond, besides the entire surfaces of other pools or ponds; and exclusive, of several brooks, it has two small rivers, the Matteposset or Matapoiset and the Sippiwan. The Matapoiset falls into a creek or bay, called Matapoiset Harbour; but this harbour is of less importance to the town than Rochester Harbour, called after its own name.

Ships are built in Rochester, for the port of New Bedford, and there is commonly two thousand tons upon the stocks. Many vessels also sail out of the port of Rochester, particularly fifty or sixty coasters, and some ships of two

hundred and fifty and three hundred tons. There are six places of public worship.

The soil, in that part of the town which is crossed by the road, is rocky, and sandy; and, though it improves as we approach New Bedford, it is light throughout the district, and unfit for pasture: it produces, however, good crops of maize and rye.

New Bedford is a town, commercial village, and port of entry, of which the trade is active, and promises to increase. Its situation is on an inlet or arm of the sea, in Buzzard's Bay, which inlet, in the town itself, is called *the river*. The head of the inlet receives a brook or rivulet bearing the Indian name of Acushnet. A bridge, the building of which was commenced after the year 1796, is thrown across the Acushnet, at what is called the head of the river, but which is the mouth of the river, and head of the inlet. At three miles below the bridge, is the village. Above, the Acushnet, impeded at two or three places in its course, spreads itself into diminutive lakes.

The village has two streets that run parallel to the water, and two or three cross streets; and the number of houses is about three hundred. All the buildings are of wood, but many of them are handsome; and the whole appearance of the place bespeaks prosperous industry. Ship-build-

ing is a principal employment of the place; and there were at this time seven large vessels on the stocks. A hundred square-rigged vessels belong to the port; and the ports of Falmouth, Dartmouth and New Bedford, possess together a hundred and fifty. Vessels of more than three hundred tons cannot conveniently come to the wharfs of New Bedford. Their chief employ is that of carrying freights between New York and Europe; rarely, if ever, fetching freights from the West Indies, but loading with West India produce at New York. The country round New Bedford has nothing to export, and it consumes but few imports. There are some handsome warehouses, built on the wharfs; but the decline of the little trade in which New Bedford was lately engaged, and the entire transfer of its tonnage into the carrying-trade, will probably prevent the building of more. The former trade arose out of the products of the whale-fishery; but the decline of the market for these products has reduced the merchants and ship owners of New Bedford to abandon the pursuit.

One or two small salt-works are erecting in New Bedford. A manufactory of sheaves for ships blocks has been established in the village, the machinery of which is turned by sea-water, thrown upon an over-shot wheel. The water is raised by sails; but this expedient, which is well

adapted for raising water for the salt-works, inadequate to the service here required. All the water, that it ordinarily raises in forty-eight hours, being expended in four.

Many of the inhabitants of New Bedford are emigrants from Nantucket; and the rest are generally from the towns to the eastward. In Westport, which is on the western boundary of Massachusetts, and is separated from New Bedford only by the town of Dartmouth, a colony has lately been begun, by adventurers from Yarmouth. Their particular inducement is the acquisition of a more convenient harbour than their old one, in which they can load and unload their fish with less handling and consequent damage.

New Bedford itself was made a town so lately as the year 1787, though the Acushnet is said to have been discovered in 1602. In 1778, when it had become a nest of privateers, Acushnet could boast of losses to the amount of 97,000*l.* currency, by the hostilities necessarily committed for its destruction. In 1794, when it was engaged in commerce, its exports amounted to 82,085 dollars. In the village is a marine-insurance office, and a printing-office, at which is published a weekly newspaper; and there is a quaker's meeting-house, and a congregational church; but no settled clergyman. At the Head of the River is another church; and it

is not long since, and both were regularly served; but the pulpits are now only occasionally filled, and then only by methodist and other travelling preachers. One Smith has here recently propagated the doctrine, that there will be no resurrection for the wicked; and he is much followed.

From the Head of the River to the mouth of the inlet is a space of seven or eight miles. The town lies on both sides of the inlet, which, opposite the village of New Bedford, is about a mile in width. The village of New Bedford is on the west shore, and the villages of Fairhaven and Oxford on the east. Fairhaven fronts New Bedford, but Oxford is below. Fairhaven has a church with a spire; and I saw several large vessels lying at its wharfs.

Middleborough, a populous town, engaged in the nail manufacture and other works in iron, of the ore of which metal it possesses great quantities, lies between New Bedford, and Taunton, or rather Taunton river, in which direction I now proceeded. On a rising ground, by the road side, and on the banks of a large body of water, called Long Pond, is an open-burying-ground, in which, on a rude slab of slate, is rudely cut the following biographical inscription:

" *In memory of the Rev. William Nelson. He*
" *died April* 11*th*, 1806, *in his* 65*th year.*

" In Middleborough i had my birth,
" At Warren my classical education,
" At Tiverton I had my ordination,
" At Norton my dwelling-place;
" Dartmouth an assylum for my health,
" At Middleborough my exit and grave."

CHAPTER LIII.

Massachusetts—Dighton—Taunton.

AT New Bedford, I was for the second time in the neighbourhood of Narragansett Bay, though on that portion of its shores which belongs to the territory of Massachusetts. At the distance of a very few miles, I gained the banks of a river, that, like many others in the United States, being without a name, is called Taunton River, from the town past which it flows. It falls into Mount Hope Bay, an inlet of Narragansett Bay, above Rhode Island; and is navigable, for small vessels, as high as Taunton.

All the ground in this vicinity, if not classic, is at least historical. The English colonists in

the year 1620, found it in the possession of a numerous people, whom they called Narragansetts, or Narragansett Indians, and of whom there may remain a hundred souls, settled in the neighbourhood of some little lakes, in the town of Charlestown, to the westward of the bay. Of the Narragansetts, or at least of their sachem or chief, styled by historians King Philip, we are still reminded at every step, by the traditionary names. All the country is described as part of King Philip's territory. The town of Raynham is said to have been King Philip's hunting-ground; another tract was King Philip's fowling-ground; a rock on Mount Hope was King Philip's Throne or Chair; and "they show the "spot (Kikemutt Spring in a farm, belonging "to Stephen Paine, Esquire, in Bristol,) where "Philip received the news of the first English-"men that were killed, and wept at the news."*

It was a vestige of the Indians, still remaining on Taunton River, that I now proposed to visit. It consists in a sculptured rock, known to the inhabitants by the name of the Writing Rock, and which has long excited some portion of antiquarian curiosity; several drawings having

* Callender's Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island, &c. Boston, 1739.

been made, of which one, by Mr. James Winthrop, is in the library of Harvard College, and has been engraved in the Transactions of the Massachusetts Academy of Arts and Sciences; and another, procured in the beginning of the preceding century, by Dr. Cotton Mather, may be seen in one of the volumes of the Transactions of the Royal Society of London. The rock is on the east side of the river, in Berkeley, a new town, comprehended within the former limits of the town of Dighton, and on a tongue of land that projects to the southward, and is denominated Asonnet Neck.

Though the Writing Rock is a monument as rude as it is unintelligible, yet it deserves attention, as well for what it really is, as for what various observers have supposed it to be: it is not a monument of the Phœnicians, nor of the Carthaginians, nor of the lost tribe of Israel, nor of Prince Madoc, nor of Captain Blackbeard, nor of Captain Kyd; but it is a monument of the sculpture of the ancient inhabitants of America, whether Narragansetts or others.

The rock is an insulated mass of fine-grained gray granite or grunstein, lying northwest and southwest, on the sands of the river, a few feet above the present low-water mark, but covered at every tide. Its length is eleven feet, and its height four and a half. Toward the land, its

form is broken and irregular, but inclining gradually outward, from the summit to the base; toward the water, it presents a regular face, and nearly smooth, forming an inclined plane, of about sixty degrees elevation. Of this face, which is of the length of the rock, and about five feet broad, the whole appears to have been originally filled with sculptures; but those, immediately at the base, if such there were, are now entirely worn away. A little above, sculptures discover themselves but faintly; while those at the summit are very perfect. In what figures the sculptures consist will be best learned from the accompanying plate; but a few words—and they are very few—are to be added, on the style of workmanship.

The whole is composed of outlines, hollowed, or cut *in intaglio*; and of which the breadth is generally less than an inch, and the depth, where deepest, does not exceed half an inch. From the appearance of the sculpture, and from the hardness of the stone, it is probable that the upper parts have suffered little injury; and yet the edges are here broken, and the whole execution appears barbarous. The different states of preservation, observable in the lower figures and the upper, may be attributed to the action of the water, and perhaps to the collision of floating bodies of ice, both of which agents must operate on the lower part of the stone in a greater degree than on the upper; the

upper being covered, at every tide, for a much shorter space of time than the lower. The alternate action of salt and the atmosphere have produced an equal diversity of colour on the surface of the stone; the upper part being of a deep red or purple colour, and the lower gradually fading toward the base into a pinkish gray. The interior substance is gray.

After viewing the rock and its sculptures, which last are sufficiently conspicuous to attract notice, from the deck of a vessel sailing in the channel of the river, we demand, if not the meaning of the sculptures, at least the history of their formation; but, upon the second subject, there is very little to be said; and upon the first, absolutely nothing. The only solid history is, that the rock, with its sculptures, was found in its present place, and apparently in its present condition, by the earliest colonists.

But, in the absence of history, there has been an abundance of conjecture. Two opinions though with some subordinate varieties; chiefly divide the learned and unlearned; the unlearned believe that the rock was sculptured by the order of a pirate, either Captain Kyd or Captain Blackbeard, in order to mark the site of buried treasure; and the shore, for more than a hundred fathom on a side, has been dug, in the hope of a discovery; the learned are more attached to a Phœnician origin, and suspect that the Writing Rock may be

a monument of the first navigators that passed the Pillars of Hercules: indeed, they find the Pillars of Hercules among the sculptures.

According to some, however, one of the first English vessels that navigated these seas passed a winter at the anchorage near this spot; and the sculptures, as they say, are of the workmanship of the crew: or an English vessel (as the story is changed) was stranded here; and the rock was sculptured in memory of the disaster. Both these traditions are attempted to be supported by a third; namely, that the timbers of a vessel were seen on the shore, in the time of the last generation; and that an anchor, nearly destroyed by corrosion, was once found near the spot. A Hebrew scholar, in Boston, has made a drawing from Mr. Winthrop's drawing, (for the rock he has not seen,) in which he shows that one of the figures is a king; another, his throne and canopy; a third a priest; a fourth an idol, a fifth a foreign ambassador, &c. and, in the intervening parts, he points out Hebrew characters, composing words, which words explain the figures; as *the king—the priest—the idol.* But this gentleman has misemployed his ingenuity, and a single glance at the rock would have robbed him of all disposition to support the hypothesis. There is not, in reality, the smallest reason to doubt, that these sculptures are of In-

dian work; but, upon this point, I shall be able to offer more conclusive arguments in a succeeding chapter. It is necessary that I should say something here, upon the fidelity of the representation in the plate.

It is to be confessed that this drawing of the sculptures on the Writing Rock bears very little similitude to the other drawings that have been made of the same objects; but it should at the same time be known, that the other drawings (I believe there are only four) are all as unlike each other, as the present is to them. If the plate in the transactions of the Royal Society be consulted, the diminutive figure that it contains, of what Dr. Mather calls *two lines*, copied from the Writing Rock, will be found to have scarcely the smallest resemblance to what is now before us: that figure is equally unlike the drawings by Professor Sewall and Mr. Winthrop; and Professor Sewall's drawing is totally at variance with Mr. Winthrop's. The variations are not confined to minute particulars, or to such as merely depend upon skill in delineation; but each copy contains prominent figures, such as are not to be found in the other copies.

Concerning the copyist of Dr. Mather's *two lines of the inscription*, no particulars are mentioned. The lines are introduced to the Royal So-

ciety as having been procured to be copied by the doctor.* Professor Sewall made his copy by hand, and by his eye; but Mr. Winthrop had resort to a mechanical expedient, very likely to mislead. This gentleman carried to the rock a quantity of printing-ink; and, having rubbed this material into what he considered to be sculptures in the rock, he proceeded to take an impression, which, when taken, he regarded as a *fac simile*. But it must be evident, that the accuracy of the impression eminently depended upon the accuracy with which the ink was applied. Now, the sculptures being in general very obscure, nothing could be more easy than to apply the ink erroneously.

The fourth drawing is in the possession of the Honourable Judge Baylies, of Dighton, under whose inspection it was made. In this instance, the supposed sculptures were chalked, and the chalked lines were copied. But this expedient, like the former, is deceitful in its promises of accuracy: I tried it myself, and found that I falsified the figures at every touch.

The obscurity of a great part of the sculptures, and the consequent difficulty of tracing them by the eye, suggests the adoption of these

* See Transactions of the Royal Society, 1712.

contrivances; but is it probable, that what is obscure, when seen at a proper distance, and in a proper position of the eye, can be distinctly traced by the finger, when the tracer stands close to the rock, and, looking down upon its side, marks out a distinct figure, where all was indistinct before?

Another occasion of diversity in the drawings is the style of execution. Professor Sewall's drawing (which I think the most accurate of the four) is performed with a feeble and hesitating hand, and therefore greatly injures the original, in which the lines are bold and determined. Mr. Winthrop's impression of the reiterated daubs of his ink, shows only a congeries of disjointed members; whereas, in the original, the whole is connected and complete. Judge Baylies's drawing, on the other hand, is finished with all the graces of penmanship, and hence enhances the flow and freedom of the design, as well as the neatness of the execution.

But, since no two of the copies agree, there must be error in more than one. That, amid the errors of others, I have been myself in all respects accurate, is what I do not venture to assert, nor even venture to believe. I shall state two principles, however, by which I have governed myself in making this drawing, and which have certainly been overlooked by my

predecessors: of these, the first is that of aiming to make the copy neither worse nor better than that of the original; the other, that of being content to leave obscure and nearly indistinct in the copy, that which is obscure and nearly invisible in the original. The upper parts of the sculptures are in general very well defined upon the rock; but the lower are much otherwise.

It is in consequence of the fidelity introduced into the copy, that the perpendicular and horizontal lines are generally untrue: my precursors have set them right; but this I have carefully avoided. My wish is, not to show what the same design would have been, in the hands of a skilful artist, furnished with proper tools; but what it really is, in the hands of the artist that performed it.

Among the variations, observable in this drawing, from the drawings made before it, the most remarkable is the omission of the figure of a bird, apparently of the crane species, which is very conspicuous in the drawing made under the inspection of Judge Baylies. But, though I had the advantage of conversing with this gentleman on the subject, and though I visited the rock on six or seven days successively, I was never able to discern this figure. Gentlemen, also, by whom I was more than once accompanied, were equally unable with myself to make the discovery. All, that in my drawing, is

seen of the *bird*, consists of two perpendicular strokes, toward the centre of the lower part of the rock, and which, in Judge Baylies's drawing, form the legs. It is true, nevertheless, that in a pretended tradition concerning the rock, hereafter to be related, there is mention of a *bird*.

In accounting for the diversities observed in the copies, a favourite resource is that of supposing that the stone moulders away; but this theory, which would well enough explain why sculptures, seen in the year 1700, were not seen in the year 1800, will by no means explain why those, seen in 1800, were not seen in 1700: it will account for disappearance, but not for variation. Professor Sewall's drawing, which is the earliest, Dr. Mather's excepted, contains no figures that I did not see on the rock; but the two later drawings contain several.

But, the question of decay in the sculptures affects the question of their antiquity; and Professor Sewall's drawing, and even Dr. Mather's, is evidence with me, that no perceptible decay has taken place within the last hundred years: and this evidence, added to that derived from the durable quality of the stone, and from the degree of the decay that is really observable, induces me to believe that the sculptures are very ancient.

As to traditions, there is, though but in a few mouths, an Indian tradition, which purports, that some ages past, a number of white men arrived in the river, in a *bird;* that the white men took Indians into the *bird*, as hostages; that they took fresh water for their consumption at a neighbouring spring; that the Indians fell upon and slaughtered the white men at the spring; that, during the affray, *thunder* and *lightning* issued from the *bird;* that the hostages escaped from the *bird;* and that a spring, now called White Spring, and from which there runs a brook, called White Man's Brook, has its name from this event.

This story believed, the inference is, that the rock, which is doubtlessly a monument of some event in Indian history, is a monument of the adventure of the slaughter of the white men of the *bird;* but, upon visiting the spring, which is at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the rock, on the farm of a Mr. Asa Shove, I could hear nothing of the affair: on the contrary, a son of Mr. Shove's related to me, that he had always understood the spring and brook to have received their names from the death of a *white hunter*, (a colonist,) who, being heated with the chace, drank freely at the spring, and died in consequence, upon the spot. In regard to the spring, one neighbour had told me that it was a

hot spring; and another, that it was remarkable for its intense coldness; and I found it neither warmer nor colder than springs in general. The spring is to the north-east of the rock, and the brook enters Taunton River a little above the rock. The rock itself is on the farm of a Mr. Deane; and Asonnet Neck is said to have been a a place of banishment among the Indians. I was informed that another sculptured rock had been seen in the river, at times when the water was particularly low; but this account, on tracing it to its source, appeared to be untrue. The only sculptures on any rock, not on the Writing Rock, consist in two or three figures or characters, having some similitude to the letters X O O, and which are seen on the corner of a slab of stone, lying within a few yards of the Writing Rock.

The Writing Rock is not a solitary instance of a sculptured rock in North America. Several are spoken of, exclusively of that attributed, in a preceding chapter, to Scaticook, in Connecticut; and besides one or two that are said to be in Tiverton, in Narragansett Bay. Of the sculptures on the Tiverton rocks I have seen drawings, from which they appear to consist in rude imitations of whole human figures; but it is the view of some sculptured rocks on the Connecticut, at the foot of a cataract, called the Great Falls, or Bellow's Falls, and of which no

notice has been taken by any traveller before me, that has removed every doubt from my mind, as to the Indian origin of the Writing Rock. On this latter rock I shall add some remarks hereafter, when describing the rocks on the Connecticut. The sculptures of the latter have less design than those on the Writing Rock, and are comparatively insignificant; but they illustrate its history. The Writing Rock is by far the most important of the sculptured rocks in New England.

The banks of Taunton River, contiguous to the Writing Rock, have no small proportion of beauty; particularly where, below the rock, and on the west side of the river, some rocky hills adorn the landscape. The native rock, even that in the loftiest situations, is pudding-stone; but the scattered masses are granites. Dighton is a port of entry; and ships are built both in Dighton and Berkeley. In Dighton, I saw three vessels on the stocks, of which one was of two hundred and eighty tons. The town of Dighton maintains about twenty poor.

On an eminence that commands the river, is the residence of Major Baylies, a gentleman of the most pleasing and polished manners, and to whom I owe no less for his personal attentions, than for his zealous assistance in all my undertakings and inquiries concerning the Writing Rock.

I was so fortunate, also, as to meet, at Dighton, Dr. Prince, a clergyman, of Salem, and inventor of an improved air-pump, known by the name of the American air-pump, and who visited Dighton on the same errand with myself.

My landlord, in Dighton, was an honest and laborious farmer; an antifederalist in politics, but one that *only meant what was right.* I was one day amused by a controversy that took place between this worthy man and a *federal* clergyman of the neighbourhood. The antifederalists in politics are all optimists in philosophy; and every thing in the United States (federalism excepted) is the best of all possible things: "Every person in the United States," said my landlord, "is happy; not one in ten thousand "is unhappy."—"You are all unhappy," replied his reverend opponent; "not one in ten "thousand is happy; you carry fire-brands in "your bosoms; you all want to be kings!"

Taunton, the town eastward of Dighton, contains a thriving manufacturing village, at the distance of seven miles from Dighton church. Taunton is a post-town, and the county-town of the county of Bristol, and is distant about thirty-six miles from Boston. Besides its church, court-house and gaol, it has a public building belonging to an *academy* or grammar-school, founded in 1792. Its manufactures are nail-

making and other iron-works. Oyster-shells, from the lower part of the river, are here burnt for their lime, and a dark yellow pigment is manufactured from the red ochre imported from Gay Head.

In New England, it is common to see solitary grave-stones, in fields, rick-yards and kitchen-gardens; consecrated burial-grounds being here out of the question, with the prevailing religious sect; and families thinking proper to inter the dead each on their own land: a custom somewhat remarkable, in a country where the lands are not entailed, and where they are therefore daily liable to a transfer into hands that can have little respect for the graves that they may find on them.—In a garden near the river, in the village of Dighton, is a grave-stone, with this inscription:

" *IN memory of Miss Polly C. Bragg, who* " *died October* 18*th, A. D.* 1805, *in the* 27*th* " *year of her age.*

" THE DYING WORDS OF MISS POLLY C. " BRAGG:

" Oh how beautiful it shines!
" It happifies this heart of mine,
" From my Father's glorious throne,
" Sweeter than the honey-comb.

" ' Mother,' she cry'd, ' how rich we be!'
" Expierd, and left us instantly."

CHAPTER LIV.

Massachusetts—Boston.

BOSTON, the capital of Massachusetts, is seated in the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, in forty-two degrees and twenty-three minutes, north latitude, and seventy-one degrees and four minutes, west longitude. The peninsula that it covers projects into an inner bay or harbour, lying between Point Shirley and Point Alderton, and of which the entrance is filled with islands.

In the village, there is supposed to be an actual population of thirty thousand souls; but the latest census, that of the year 1801, exhibits only twenty-five thousand.* The number of houses

* The city of New York, which is also a county, contains a total population of 83,530 souls, of which number 1,776 are slaves. The total male population is 40,649; the total male free population, 39,991; and the total number of electors, 12,407.

The total number of female free persons is 41,763; and the total number of female slaves, 1,118.

The total number of electors, voting as possessed of freeholds of the value of 100*l.* currency and upward, is 3,010; of those possessed of freeholds of the value of 20*l.* and under 100*l.* 20; and of those renting tenements of the yearly value of 40 shillings, 9,348.

may be three thousand. In 1790, the actual enumeration amounted to two thousand three hundred and seventy-six. In 1790, it had ninety-seven streets, courts, lanes and alleys; but these have been since increased to a hundred and five.

Of the general appearance of Boston, in reference to the picturesque, I have already attempted to express myself in terms of some admiration. Boston stands on an uneven surface, is adorned with many handsome buildings, is crowned by the dome of its state-house, and has the accompaniments of wood, water and surrounding

The number of slaves is less in this year than in 1806, by 272 souls:

Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1806	818	1,230	2,048
1807	658	1,118	1,776

The following table exhibits the population of this city, as taken at different periods:

1697	4,802
1756	*15,000
1771	21,863
1786	23,614
1791	33,131
1801	60,489
1805	75,770
1807	83,530

See the Census taken by order of the common-council of the city of New York, and dated City Inspector's Office, December 1st, 1808.

* Smith's History of New York, London, 1757, p. 96.

hills. On every side, it has in its vicinity several smaller, but well-built villages.

Such is the description of the exterior. Arrived within the streets, various features present themselves, of which some support the first impression, while others are less favourable. Unevenness of surface, though it is the source of a thousand beauties in the distant prospect of a populous place, is productive of some inconveniences in the place itself, by throwing many houses and streets into unpleasant and inconvenient situations. An irregularity in the laying out of streets, is no real injury to their beauty; but many of the streets of Boston are both crooked and narrow. In the houses there is much variety, many being mean, but many also of a costly, modern, and elegant architecture and finishing: of the latter, several have been erected at an expense of from forty to eighty thousand dollars each. The buildings are very generally of brick; and all new ones, more than ten feet high, are now, in consequence of several losses by fire, required by law to be of brick or stone. Of late, the brick, every-where admired in the United States, is of a red colour; but that seen in the older buildings is brown. The yellow or *stone-coloured* brick, that is fashionable in England, has not been introduced. Red bricks, of a fine clay, are imported from Philadelphia into Boston; and as the humidity, together with the

frosts, is found to bring on a speedy destruction of their substance, an attempt has been made, with what success remains to be seen, to render them impenetrable, by saturation with molosses.

State-street, and several others, are handsome streets. State-street leads from the old state-house to the head of Long Wharf, which is a pier of seventeen hundred feet in length, by a hundred and four in breadth, and lined with a range of roomy and solid warehouses of brick. The street and the wharf extend in one straight line. Park-street has a row of houses, of which the back is turned to the buildings nearer the harbour, while the front overlooks the common, a green surface of forty-five acres, that lies on the side of Beacon Hill, and at the foot of the state-house; and beyond which an inlet of the sea presents itself, on the west side of the peninsula. The inlet is denominated Charles River. Between Common-street and the common, is a handsome mall, well shaded with trees, and six hundred yards in length.

The state-house stands at the top, and to the left or west, of Park-street, and on the western brow of Beacon Hill. This building, whose architect is Mr. Bulfinch, of Boston, and of which the corner-stone was laid on the fourth day of July, 1795, is a hundred and seventy-three feet in front, and sixty-one in depth; and consists of a basement and principal stories, with an attic story

in the centre of the front. The basement story is twenty feet high, and the principal story thirty. The centre, with its attic story, twenty feet high, making a total height of seventy feet, is covered with a pediment, above which rises a dome, fifty feet in diameter, and thirty feet high. The dome is lit by a lanthorn, of which the height is probably included in the measurement of the dome, giving a total height to the edifice of one hundred feet. The level on which the state-house stands is about a hundred feet above the harbour. On the top of the lanthorn is a gilded pine-cone.

The body of the building is of red brick; but there are posts hewn out of the red granite of the country, placed for the defence of the surrounding pavement; and these, and some other appurtenances of the same material, appear to have occasioned a mistaken account, that the state-house of Boston is built of granite.* The

* M. Volney is made the authority for this description, but whether justly or not, the want of immediate access to his work leaves me in doubt. Some variation of meaning may be supposed to belong to the passage referred to, as given by the translators in the United States:

——" A granite, red, black and grey, the same of " which the state-house of Boston is built." *A View of the Soil and Climate, &c. By C. F. Volney, &c.* Philadelphia, 1804.

basement story is finished in a plain taste on the wings, with square windows.

In the centre, which is ninety-four feet in breadth, it forms an arcade, above which is a range of columns, supporting the pediment. The outside walls are of large *patent* bricks, and adorned with fascias, imposts and key-stones, of white marble.

The edifice contains, in the basement story, the offices of the treasurer and secretary of the commonwealth, and an apartment allotted to the use of the Massachusetts Academy, disposed on either side of a hall fifty-five feet square and twenty high, and of which the ceiling is supported by eight Doric columns. From the hall, which occupies the whole depth of the building, and has entrances, each sixteen feet wide, on the two fronts, a double flight of stairs ascends to the principal floor, in the centre of which is the chamber of the representatives, fifty-five feet square, with niches, in the four corners, for stoves. Doric columns support a gallery, raised twelve feet above

" A granite, of a red, black and grey colour, abounds " on the right bank of the river, opposite Quebec, re- " sembling that of the state-house at Boston." *A Geological Account of the United States*, &c. Philadelphia, 1807.

M. Volney is at least mistaken as to the imputed abundance of granite on the shores opposite Quebec.

the floor. From a Doric entablature, which surrounds the whole apartment, spring four flat arches, united above, by a circular cornice, and forming, in the angles, four large pendants to the dome. The pendants are ornamented with emblems of commerce, agriculture, peace and war; and the dome is finished, the centre of which is fifty feet from the floor, in compartments of stucco. The seats of the members form an amphitheatre, in front of the speaker's chair.

On the north side of the chamber of representatives, is the senate-chamber, also fifty-five feet in length, but only thirty-three in width. The height of the apartment is thirty feet; and the ceiling, which is vaulted, is supported by two skreens of columns, with their entablatures. The whole is in the Ionic order, elegantly finished, and is ornamented with pilasters, and with the arms of Massachusetts and of the United States, placed in corresponding pannels. It contains a gallery, for the accommodation of strangers.

On the same floor, the south wing contains the council-chamber, twenty-seven feet square, and twenty high, with a flat ceiling. The walls are finished with Corinthian pilasters, and pannels of stucco, enriched with armorial bearings, with the scales and sword of Justice, the caduceus of Mercury, and the cap of Liberty; and with

wreaths of oak and laurel.—Beside these principal apartments, there are about twenty of smaller dimensions, plainly finished, and designed for committee-rooms. The stair-cases are spacious, and the top of the outer dome is reached by a hundred and seventy-six steps from the floor of the basement story. When I qualified my praise of the exterior of this building, I had principally in view the proportions of the dome. A nearer approach to the sphere, than to the ellipsis, would impart more majesty; but the architect, confined as to the diameter, has apparently aimed at giving the highest admissible elevation.

A town-hall, called Faneuil Hall, from Peter Faneuil, Esquire, by whom, in 1740, it was founded, occupies the centre of the market place. It has lately been enlarged, at an expense of fifty-six thousand dollars, and is a hundred feet in length, by eighty in width. The basement story is open, and is used as a market-house. On the principal floor is the town-hall, seventy-six feet square and twenty-eight feet high, with a gallery on the sides; and, adjoining, are offices for the selectmen, board of health, and assessors. The attic story has a hall, in which the military corps assemble to exercise; and small apartments, in which they deposit their arms and equipments.

In Leverett-street, which abuts on Charles River, is a large and exceedingly commodious alms-house, two hundred and seventy feet in length, seventy feet wide, and three stories high. Within the edifice is a chapel, well fitted up, and all the apartments are spacious and well-aired. At the back, or toward the water, is a large grass-plat, and the walls likewise inclose a garden, a bath-house, and several other detached buildings. The edifice and appurtenances are handsome; and the whole establishment is in the highest degree creditable to its founders and superintendants.

The churches, and other edifices of public worship, are twenty-one in number:

Congregational,		9
Church of England,		3
Anabaptist,	3	
African do.	1	4
Methodist,		2
Roman Catholic,		1
Quaker,		1
Universal,		1
		21

Of these, one or two congregational churches, and particularly the Old South Church, which is of brick, are respectable for their magnitude; but that called Stone Chapel is the only one that has any pretension to elegance: in general, they

are of wood. The Stone Chapel, which is in the form of a Greek temple, is reckoned among the edifices belonging to the church of England; but its congregation are of the unitarian creed.

In Franklin Place, apartments are occupied by the Boston Social Library, and by the Massachusetts Historical Society. By *social* is here intended *society;* for, by a perversion of language,* the *society-libraries*, of which some account has been given in a former chapter, are so called. In the Library of the Historical Society are many valuable books and papers, and some natural curiosities, antiquities and Indian manufactures, all connected with the object of the Institution, namely, the history of the United States, and particularly of Massachusetts. Boston has no public Museum, or collection of specimens of the works of art and nature; but it has a Museum, so called, in which wax-work is exhibited for money, and humble concerts are sometimes performed; and where there is a collection of English prints, and of some other objects of curiosity. Repeated fires have injured the proprietors, and defeated their efforts for creating a more important establishment.

* *Social* is an epithet applicable to what belongs to *society*, and not to what belongs to *a society* or association.

Federal-street Theatre, which is under the management of Mr. Bernard, an excellent comedian, from England, is not remarkably small, and has often numerous and genteel audiences. There is a second theatre, for tumblers and rope-dancers.

Boston Harbour is sufficient for the accommodation of any number of vessels, in deep water; but its mouth is so narrow as scarcely to admit two ships abreast. The islands already mentioned, are said to be forty in number, of which nearly fifteen afford pasturage, the remainder being either small rocks, or banks of sand, slightly covered with mould and verdure. Seven are within the town of Boston, and pay taxes accordingly.* Castle Island, one of the largest, and which has been ceded to the United States, is distant about a league from the wharfs of Boston, and has on it a strong fort, formerly called Castle William, and now Fort Independence. This fort, which is maintained and garrisoned by the United States, is in complete repair, and well provided with heavy ordnance. Ships of war might nevertheless pass it with little injury; but the harbour is a *cul de sac*,

* These are Noddle's Island, Hog Island, Long Island, Deer Island, Spectacle Island, Governor's Island and Apple Island.

out of which they could scarcely escape from an enemy on shore. A light-house, sixty feet high, stands on a small island in the north entrance of the channel.

Boston has about eighty wharfs and quays. Excluding Long Wharf, India Wharf, with its warehouses, is the most considerable work. India-street, a new street, of which the buildings are not yet finished, leads to this wharf. The street is intended to be lined with sixty brick warehouses, of which forty will be five stories high. Broad-street, which is contiguous, contains sixty warehouses, of uniform exterior, four stories high. All these buildings are the property of a company. This street, which was first built upon in 1806, is seventy feet wide; and Front-street, leading from Beach-street to South Boston bridge, is of the same width. The Mill-pond, a large surface of water, dammed for the use of mills, is just purchased by the town, and is to be filled up, and built upon.

The peninsular situation of the village, separated from the main land, to the north-west and south-east, by shallow arms of the sea, has given occasion for the construction of three bridges of wood, of considerable length. Charles River and West Boston bridges are both on Charles River, or that arm of the sea which receives

the water of a little river so called. Charles River bridge, which leads from the north part of Boston to the village of Charlestown, was opened in 1787. It is fifteen hundred feet long, and forty-two broad, and is supported by seventy-five piers; and it cost fifty thousand dollars. West Boston bridge, which leads from West Boston to the village of Cambridge-port, cost seventy-six thousand, seven hundred dollars, stands on one hundred and eighty piers, is forty feet wide, is nearly three thousand five hundred feet long, and abuts, on the Cambridge side, on a causey of three thousand four hundred feet. South Boston bridge, which leads from Boston to South Boston and Dorchester, is described above.*

All these bridges are works of great public utility, and interesting through their magnitude. In their style of building there is little given to ornament; but they are ornaments themselves, on account of the industry, ingenuity and prosperity which they discover. They are well contrived for the accommodation of passengers, well provided with lamps, and as substantial as the nature of their materials will permit. Two other bridges are projected, one leading to Charlestown, by the way of Leverett-

* Chap. xxxix.

street, and the other to South Boston, by the way of South-street. An act incorporating the adventurers in the first has passed the assembly.

On Beacon Hill, the summit of which is higher than that part on which the state-house is built, is a pillar, that rising near the dome, to which it affords a contrast of form, adds greatly to the picture. It was erected to commemorate the revolution, and has several inscriptions; but it is already almost a ruin. Where the pillar now is, there was formerly a beacon.

Boston was begun to be built in 1630, and is the third settlement effected in Massachusetts Bay, those of Plymouth and Salem having preceded it. The site is said to have been called *Shawmut* by the Indians; and it had for some time the name of *Trimountain* among the colonists of Charlestown, to whom it presented a prospect of *three hills;* but it received its present name from those who first founded it, in compliment to the Reverend Mr. Cotton, one of the clergy to whom they were principally devoted, and who went to the colony from Boston in England. It was early the seat of government in Massachusetts Bay, and this distinction it has constantly retained. It lies to the north-east of New-York, distant two hundred and fifty-four miles; and its distance

from Washington is four hundred and eighty-one, in the same direction.

CHAPTER LV.

The same, continued.

BOSTON is the seat of numerous institutions, commercial, humane and economical.

I. The commercial institutions comprise four banks, an office of exchange, and six insurance-offices; in all, eleven.

1. The Boston Bank, of which the capital stock is one million eight hundred thousand dollars, was incorporated in the year 1803, for nine years.

2. The Union Bank, of which the capital stock is one million two hundred thousand dollars, was incorporated in 1792, for nineteen years.

3. The Branch Bank, by which name is meant a bank that is a *branch* or portion of the Bank of the United States, has a capital stock of seven hundred thousand dollars.

4. The Massachusetts Bank, of which the capital stock is at present four hundred thousand dollars, was incorporated in the year 1784.

The act of incorporation, called its *charter*, allows its stock to be increased; and is to be in force so long as there are proprietors.

5. The Boston Exchange-Office, incorporated in 1804, for eight years.

6. The Fire and Marine Insurance Company, of which the capital stock is seven hundred thousand dollars, incorporated in 1795, to continue till 1815.

7. The Mutual Fire Insurance Company, of which the capital stock is three hundred thousand dollars, incorporated in 1798.

8. The Boston Marine Insurance Company, of which the capital stock is five hundred thousand dollars, incorporated in 1799, for twenty years.

9. The Suffolk Insurance Company, of which the capital stock is two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, incorporated in 1803, for twenty years.

10. The New England Marine Insurance Company, of which the capital stock is three hundred thousand dollars, incorporated in 1803, for twenty years.

11. The Union Insurance Company, of which the capital is three hundred thousand dollars, incorporated in 1804, for twenty years.

To this list of companies, incorporated for purposes of profitable adventure, might be added

an almost endless one, of such as have vested their stock in canals, bridges, roads, and other works of public use.

II. The humane institutions are twelve in number.

1. The Massachusetts Charitable Society, which was incorporated in 1779, has only in view the relief of decayed members, and of the necessitous widows and orphans of members. The number of members is restricted to one hundred.

2. The Boston Episcopal Charitable Society was first instituted in 1724, and was incorporated in 1784, for the relief, first, of such as are members of the church of England, and secondly, of such others as the society shall think fit; but more especially decayed members and benefactors. The number of members, in this, as in the former institution, is restricted to one hundred.

3. The Massachusetts Congregational Society, instituted for the relief of the widows and children of the deceased congregational clergymen.

4. The Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, instituted for the two-fold purpose of relieving necessitous sufferers by fire, and of encouraging inventions for the safety of lives and property from fire.

5. The Society for the aid of Immigrants,* instituted in 1793, for the purpose of relieving the circumstances of necessitous foreign adventurers in Massachusetts. The meetings of this society have been suspended.

6. The Boston Medical Dispensary, instituted in 1796.

7. The Humane Society, instituted in 1785, for the resuscitation of drowned persons, and relief of other cases of suspended animation, and for providing huts and necessaries for the use of shipwrecked mariners and others.

8. The Female Asylum, instituted in 1800, for maintaining and educating orphan and other indigent female children. The managers are sixteen ladies, annually chosen by the members.

9. The Mechanic Charitable Association, instituted for the relief of members and their families, and for "promoting and *regulating* the "*arts.*"

10. The Marine Society.

11. The Scots' Charitable Society.

12. The Irish Charitable Society.

III. There are four societies, for Christian missions, and for the promotion of Christian knowledge.

* *Immigrant* is perhaps the only new word, of which the circumstances of the United States has in any degree demanded the addition to the English language.

1. The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, incorporated in 1787. This society includes a board of commissioners from the Scotch Society for Promoting Christian knowledge.

2. The Massachusetts Missionary Society, instituted in 1799.

3. The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, instituted in 1802.

4. The Massachusetts Society for promoting Christian knowledge.

IV. For public education, there are nine schools, supported, agreeably with the ordinary system, by town-taxes, at an annual expense of fourteen thousand dollars. The number of scholars is about one thousand.

V. For the advancement of knowledge there are three institutions:

1. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, was incorporated in the year 1780.

2. The Boston Medical Society, incorporated in the year 1781, for the advancement of medical and chirurgical knowledge.

3. The Society for promoting Agriculture, incorporated in 1792, has large funds for defraying the expense of premiums and bounties.

VI. For the diffusion of knowledge and letters there are also three.

1. The Boston Library Society.

2. The Law Library.

3. The Boston Athenæum, an institution that has received its incorporation in the present year, and which is professedly established, in part, on the plan of the Athenæum in Liverpool, and with a warm though humble emulation of the Royal and London Institutions. It originated in a simple reading-room, opened to subscribers by a society of gentlemen, whose engagements in the conduct of a periodical publication, (the Monthly Anthology,) afforded them some facilities in the collection of books; but in the enlarged plan, it has more multifarious objects. Beside a Reading Room, well furnished with newspapers and pamphlets, and other productions of Europe and the United States, it is proposed that the Athenæum shall comprehend a Library, filled with the great works of learning and science in all languages; a Museum or cabinet, containing specimens in natural history; a Repository of Arts, for models of new and useful machines, drawings, paintings, engravings, statues and other objects of the fine arts; a Laboratory, for experiments in chemistry; and an Apparatus for astronomy and natural philosophy. An appropriate

building is designed to be erected; and the actual library consists in twelve hundred volumes. The institution, which principally owes its birth to the literary zeal of Mr. William S. Shaw, its present secretary, reckons, in its list of officers and directors, several of the other most respectable names in Boston. The Honourable Theophilus Parsons, Esq. Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, is its President; the Honourable John Davis, Esq. District Judge, its Vice-President; John Lowell, Esq. Treasurer; and the Rev. William Emerson, Rev. John T. Kirkland, D. D. Peter Thacher, Esq. Robert Hallowell Gardiner, Esq. and the Rev. Joseph Buckminster, directors.

CHAPTER LVI.

The same, continued.

I HAVE called Boston a *village;* for, though it clearly comes within the definition of a *town*, yet, having employed this latter term, conformably with its use in New England, in a very different sense, I am prevented from recurring to it here. The Boston topographers are sometimes less scrupulous; but I cannot consent to follow them, in confounding, under one denomination, two very different things: "Boston," say they, "is the largest *town* in New England." Now, it is certainly the most populous town, but it is far from being the largest. The *town* of Boston comprehends a peninsula two miles in length, by half a mile, in its broadest path, in width; to which is to be added a small tract of land, called South Boston, and the lands of some petty islands: but what is this, when compared with the *towns* of Plymouth and Rochester, and others, of which the length is sixteen miles. In Boston, as in all the other

towns in New England, we are to distinguish both a *village* and a *town*. The village has never been erected into a city, the attempts for that purpose failed, through the "*democratic* spirit of the "people."*

At the annual town meeting are chosen nine selectmen, to manage the civil and *prudential* affairs of the town; a town clerk, a treasurer, twelve overseers of the poor, twenty-four *firewards*, and the various other officers. Twelve constables are annually appointed by the selectmen. A board of health is annually formed, by the election of one member from each of the twelve wards into which the town is divided. This board regulates the quarantine of vessels arriving from sickly climates. The quarantine usually continues from May to October; and the board has power to establish such rules and regulations as may conduce to the prevention of contagious or epidemic disorders.

The collection of the town taxes, the amount of which is first agreed to at a regular town meeting, is confided to the treasurer. Two freeholders are chosen in each ward as assistant assessors; and these form a board for the election of three permanent assessors, who are not members of the board. The permanent as-

* American Gazetteer.

sessors, aided by the assistants in their respective wards, value and appraise the estates and income of the inhabitants, and assess their respective portions of the tax. Six months, from the date of the *tax-bill*, is allowed for the payment, with a proportional discount of from 5 to 2 per cent. for early payments. The tax for the present year is estimated at 90,000 dollars, and the income of town-land and estates at 10,000. Of these sums, 14,000 is appropriated for schools, 5,000 for lamps, 6,500 for watchmen, 18,000 for the support of the poor, 10,000 for repairing streets, and 5,000 for the expenses of the Health Office.

Boston has twelve companies of infantry divided into three sub-legions, not uniformed; and the Ancient and Honourable Artillery, the Independent Cadets, Boston Fusiliers, Boston Light Infantry, Winslow Blue Light Infantry, Washington Light Infantry, Boston Cavalry, and two companies of Artillery, in complete uniform.

There are forty-nine physicians and surgeons practising in Boston. Stage-coaches pass daily between Boston and all the neighbouring villages, as well as all the more distant parts of the United States. To and from several of the villages, they go and return twice a day; but this must be understood of *week-days*, the only

stages that travel on Sundays being those that carry the mails, and which are therefore under the direction of the general post-office, and not of the legislature of Massachusetts.

The principal manufactures in Boston consist in rum, loaf-sugar, beer, cordage, wool and cotton-cards, playing-cards, paper-hangings, hats, window-glass and chocolate.

The Aqueduct Corporation, instituted in 1795, supplies the village with excellent water, conveyed by pipes about six miles, from a pond, called Jamaica Pond, to the reservoir on Fort-Hill, and thence distributed through the principal streets.

Boston has suffered very considerable losses by fire. That of July, 1794, consumed ninety-six houses, and other property to the amount of two hundred and ten thousand dollars. Several parts of the town are still very much exposed to great damage from fire, being crowded with wooden buildings; but the act of the legislature that prohibits the erection of any building more than ten feet in height, except of brick or stone, is gradually remedying the evil; and this regulation, which a few years since received the serious opposition of a great portion of the inhabitants, is now generally regarded as an essential benefit.

CHAPTER LVII.

Massachusetts—Port of Boston.

MASSACHUSETTS is one of the most commercial divisions of the United States, and Boston one of the most flourishing ports. In 1784, the entries of foreign and coasting vessels were 372, and the clearances 450. In 1794, the entries from foreign ports were 567. In 1795, they amounted to 725; and, in 1806, to 938.

The principal exports, of domestic produce or manufacture, are pot and pearl-ashes, flax-seed, whale-oil, whale-bone, spermaceti, candles, fish dried and salted, beef, pork, cheese, butter and other kinds of provisions; lime, live-stock, home-made rum, cotton and wool-cards, men's and women's shoes, snuff, manufactured tobacco and household furniture; boards, plank, oars, oak and pine timber, shingles, staves, heading, ship-timber, and other descriptions of lumber.

Pot and pearl ashes are carried principally to Great Britain, whence manufactures are taken in return; masts and provisions, to the East Indies; fish, oil, beef, pork, lumber, candles and

other articles, to the West Indies; fish and fish-oil to France, Spain and Portugal; and barley, hops, butter, cheese and other provisions, together with hats, saddlery, and manufactures in general, to the southern states.

The entire annual exports of Massachusetts are estimated at the original value of nineteen millions of dollars; the exports of fish and of agricultural produce being taken at thirteen millions, and the foreign commodities, imported and reshipped, at six millions. Her total shipping is said to amount to three hundred and thirty-eight thousand tons, of which eighty-eight thousand is employed in the fisheries and in the coasting trade; and two hundred and fifty thousand in the foreign trade. The value of the tonnage is given at twelve millions of dollars.

The exports of dried fish, which belong almost exclusively to New England, and principally to Massachusetts, amounted, in this year, to four hundred and seventy-three thousand, nine hundred and twenty-four quintals; and the value of the whole product of the fisheries is said to have amounted to two millions eight hundred thousand dollars.

The four hundred and seventy-three thousand quintals exported, were disposed of in the several ports of Europe, and other parts, as follows :

	Quintals.
To ports of France, on the Atlantic Ocean,	65,697
Ditto, in the Mediterranean Sea,	22,557
Ports of Spain, on the Atlantic,	43,649
Ditto, in the Mediterranean,	35,460
Ports of Italy,	18,000
All other ports,	288,561
Total,	473,924

The annual profits, derived by Massachusetts from her commerce, are estimated at twenty-six millions of dollars.

Amount paid for fish and other domestic produce, and for manufactures,	$13,000,000
Mercantile profits on export of ditto,	9,000,000
Mercantile profits on reshipments of foreign commodities, for which six millions of dollars has been paid in the foreign market,	4,000,000
	26,000,000

Of this sum, the direct distribution, among the several descriptions of persons interested, is as follows:

1. Farmers, country dealers, fishermen, and manufacturers receive, for domestic produce and domestic manufactures,	$13,000,000
2. Merchants, marine-insurers, sailors, ship-wrights and other artificers, labourers, and all others whose employment or capital is connected with commerce, receive, on the export of domestic produce and manufactures,	9,000,000
3. Ditto, ditto, on the export of foreign commodities,	4,000,000
	$26,000,000

But, since the merchants, and all other persons connected with commerce, are consumers of domestic produce and manufactures, therefore the manufacturer, fisherman and farmer, ultimately receive, through the medium of commerce, a large proportion of a gross sum of twenty-six millions of dollars.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Massachusetts—Indian Missions.

IN the summer of the year 1805, a missionary, from one of the missionary institutions of Massachusetts, requested the Indian agent for the United States, resident at Buffalo Creek, on Lake Erie, to assemble the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, and particularly the Senecas, whose lands are in that neighbourhood. A council was accordingly held, and the missionary presented himself, to offer the Christian doctrines for its acceptance.

After the usual preliminary, of shaking hands, the agent addressed himself to the council, in the few words that follow:

"Brothers of the Six Nations! I rejoice to "meet you at this time, and thank the Great "Spirit, that he has preserved you in health, "and given me another opportunity of taking "you by the hand.

"Brothers; the person who sits by me, is a "friend, who has come a great distance to hold "a *talk* with you. He will inform you what his

" business is, and it is my request that you " would listen with attention to his words."

The agent ceasing, the missionary next began to speak : " My Friends, I am thankful " for the opportunity afforded us of uniting to- " gether at this time. I had a great desire to " see you, and inquire into your state and wel- " fare ; for this purpose I have travelled a great " distance, being sent by your old friends, the " Boston Missionary Society. You will recol- " lect they formerly sent missionaries among " you, to instruct you in religion, and labour for " your good. Although they have not heard " from you for a long time, yet they have not " forgotten their brothers the Six Nations, and " are still anxious to do you good.

" Brothers, I have not come to get your lands " or your money, but to enlighten your minds, " and to instruct you how to worship the Great " Spirit agreeably to his mind and will, and to " preach to you the gospel of his son Jesus " Christ. There is but one religion, and but one " way to serve God ; and if you do not embrace " the right way, you cannot be happy hereafter. " You have never worshipped the Great Spirit in " a manner acceptable to him ; but have all " your lives been in great errors and darkness. " To endeavour to remove these errors, and

" open your eyes, so that you may see clearly, " is my business with you.

" Brothers, I wish to talk with you as one " friend talks with another; and if you have any " objections to receive the religion which I " preach, I wish you to state them, and I will " endeavour to satisfy your minds, and remove " the objections.

" Brothers, I want you to speak your minds " freely; for I wish to reason with you on the " subject, and if possible remove all doubts, " if there be any on your minds. The subject is " an important one; and it is of consequence that " you give it an early attention, while the offer is " made you. Your friends, the Boston Mission- " ary Society, will continue to send you good " and faithful ministers, to instruct and strength- " en you in religion, if you, on your part, are " willing to receive them.

" Brothers, since I have been in this part of " the country, I have visited some of your small " villages, and talked with your people. They " appear willing to receive instruction; but, as " they look up to you as their older brothers in " council, they want first to know your opinion " on the subject.

" You have now heard what I have to propose " at present. I hope you will take it into consi-

" deration, and give me an answer before we " part."

The Indians heard the missionary with their usual silence in similar cases; and after a consultation of about two hours, a chief, named Saguyuwata,* but called Red Jacket by the white people, stood up, and replied to the missionary:

" Friend and brother! It was the will of the " Great Spirit that we should meet together this " day. He orders all things, and has given us a " fine day for our council. He has taken his " garment from before the sun, and caused it to " shine with brightness upon us. Our eyes are " opened, that we see clearly; our ears are un- " stopped, that we have been able to hear dis- " tinctly the words you have spoken. For all " these favours, we thank the Great Spirit, and " him only!

" Brother, this council-fire was kindled by " you; it was at your request that we came to- " gether at this time: we have listened with atten- " tion to what you have said. You have request- " ed us to speak our minds freely: this gives us " great joy; for we now consider that we stand " upright before you, and can speak what we " think. All have heard your voice, and all speak " to you now as one man: our minds are " agreed.

* " Sagu-yu-what-hah, the Keeper Awake."

" Brother, you say you want an answer to " your talk before you leave this place. It is " right you should have one, as you are a great " distance from home, and we do not wish to " detain you; but we will first look back a lit- " tle, and tell you what our fathers have told us, " and what we have heard from the white peo- " ple.

" Brother, listen to what we say! " There " was a time when our forefathers own- " ed this great island: their seats extended " from the rising to the setting sun. The Great " Spirit had made this island for the use of the In- " dians; he had created the buffalo, the deer, " and other animals for food: he had made " the bear and the beaver; their skins served us " for clothing: he had scattered them over the " country, and taught us how to take them: he " had caused the earth to produce corn for " bread: all this he had done for his red chil- " dren, because he loved them: if we had some " disputes about our hunting ground, they were " generally settled without the shedding of much " blood. But an evil day came upon us! your " forefathers crossed the great water, and land- " ed on this island. Their numbers were small: " they found friends, and not enemies; they " told us, they had fled from their own country, " for fear of wicked men, and had come here to

" enjoy their religion: they asked for a small
" seat: we took pity on them; granted their
" request; and they sat down among us: we
" gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison
" in return!

" The white people had now found our coun-
" try. Tidings were carried back, and more
" came among us. Yet we did not fear them:
" we took them to be friends: they called us
" brothers; we believed them, and gave them
" a larger seat. At length, their numbers had
" greatly increased: they wanted more land;
" they wanted our country: our eyes were
" opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars
" took place: Indians were hired to fight
" against Indians, and many of our people were
" destroyed. They also brought strong liquor
" among us: it was strong and powerful, and it
" has slain thousands.

" Brother, our seats were once large, and
" yours were small! You have now become a
" great people, and we have scarcely a place left
" on which to spread our blankets! You have
" got our country; but you are not satisfied;
" you want to force your religion upon us!!

" Brother, continue to listen! You say that
" you are sent to instruct us how to worship the
" Great Spirit agreeably to his mind; and that if
" we do not take hold of the religion, which you
" white people teach, we shall be unhappy here-

" after. You say, that you are right, and that we " are lost. How do we know this to be true? We " understand that your religion is written in a " book. If it was intended for us, as well as you, " why did not the Great Spirit give to us, and " not only to us, but why did he not give to our " forefathers, the knowledge of that book, with " the means of understanding it rightly? We " only know what you tell us about it; and how " shall we know when to believe, so often being " deceived by the white people?

" Brother, you say there is but one way to " worship and serve the Great Spirit.—If there is " but one religion, why do you white people dif- " fer so much about it?—Why do you not all " agree, as you can all read the book?

" Brother, we do not understand these " things.—We are told that your religion was " given to your forefathers, and has been hand- " ed down from father to son.—We also have a " religion, given to our forefathers, and handed " down from father to son. We worship in that " way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the " favours we receive; to love each other, and " to be united. We never quarrel about reli- " gion.

" Brother, the Great Spirit has made us all, " but he has made a great difference between " his white children and red. He has given us

" different complexions and different customs.
" To you he has given the arts. To these he has
" not opened our eyes. We know these things
" to be true.—Since, then, he has made so great
" a difference between us in other things, why
" may we not conclude that he has given us a
" different religion, according to our understand-
" ing? The Great Spirit does right; he knows
" what is best for his children; and we are sa-
" tisfied.

" Brother, we do not wish to destroy your
" religion, nor to take it from you: we only want
" to enjoy our own.

" Brother, we are told that you have been
" preaching to the white people in this place.
" These people are our neighbours. We are ac-
" quainted with them. We will wait a little
" while, and see what effect your preaching has
" upon them. If we find it does them good,
" makes them honest, and less disposed to cheat
" Indians, we will then consider again of what
" you have said.

" Brother, you have now heard our answer to
" your talk; and this is all we have to say at
" present.—

" As we are going to part, we will come and
" take you by the hand, and we hope that the
" Great Spirit will protect you on your journey,
" and return you safely to your friends!"

"As the Indians began to approach the mis-
"sionary, he rose hastily from his seat and re-
"plied, that he could not take them by the hand;
"that there was no fellowship between the reli-
"gion of God and the works of the devil.

"This being interpreted to the Indians, they
"smiled—and retired in a peaceable manner.

"It being afterwards suggested to the mission-
"ary, that his reply to the Indians was rather in-
"discreet, he observed, that he supposed the ce-
"remony of shaking hands would be received by
"them as a token that he assented to what they
"had said. Being otherwise informed, he said he
"was sorry for the expressions."*

The sentiments here expressed by the Senecas, by the mouth of their chief, Saguyuwata, are not new among these people, nor among the Indians in general. In Connecticut, in the year 1657, when the Rev. Mr. Eliot, the translator of the Bible into the language of the Moheagans, proposed Christianity to the Podunks, they rejected it with "scorn and resentment;" and said, "The English had taken away their "lands, and were attempting now to make "them *servants*."†—In 1741, Mr. Ser-

* Monthly Anthology, Vol. vi. Boston, 1809.

† See Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Book I. ch. xix.—*Servant*, in the statute book of Connecticut, and therefore probably in common language, is put

geant, of New England, offered to instruct the Shawanese and others, living on the Susquehannah, in the Christian religion; but they rejected his offer with disdain; and added, "that "the *Senecas* had given them their country, "but charged them withal never to receive "Christianity from the English."

But, it is to the crimes and vices of the colonists that we are generally to attribute, both the failure of Indian missions, and the horrors of Indian wars: in particular, we are to attribute them to what are called Indian traders, and to frontier settlers. It is to this effect that numerous witnesses express themselves; and, among others, a Pennsylvanian writer, who, in the year 1759, declared, that "it would be too "shocking to describe the conduct and be-"haviour of the traders, when among the In-"dians, and endless to enumerate the abuses "the Indians had received and borne from "them for a series of years. Suffice it to say, "that several of the tribes were at last weary of "bearing. And, as these traders were the per-"sons who were, in some sort, the representa-"tives of the English among the Indians, and

for *slave*; a violation of terms for which it would not perhaps be difficult to assign the motive.

" by whom they were to judge of our manners " and religion, they conceived such invincible " prejudices against both, particularly against our " holy religion, that when Mr. Sergeant, a gen- " tleman in New England, took a journey, in " 1741, to the Shawanese, and some other tribes, " living on the Susquehannah, and offered to in- " struct them in the Christian religion, they re- " jected his offer with disdain. They reproach- " ed Christianity. They told him the traders " would lie, cheat, and debauch their women, " and even their wives, if their husbands were " not at home. They said further, that the Se- " necas had given them their country, but char- " ged them withal never to receive Christianity " from the English."*—Nor are we left to the assertions of private men alone, but have in addition a solemn document of the same tenor, namely, a message of a governor of Pennsylvania, addressed to the assembly of the province, at its session, in 1754: " I cannot," says he, " but be apprehensive, that the Indian " trade, as it is now carried on, will involve us " in some fatal quarrel with the Indians. Our " traders, in defiance of the law, carry spi-

* An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest, &c. Written in Pennsylvania. London, 1759. Page 56.

" ritous liquors among them, and take the ad-
" vantage of their inordinate appetite for them, to
" cheat them of their skins and their wampum,
" which is their money, and often to debauch
" their wives into the bargain. Is it to be won-
" dered at, then, if, when they recover from
" their drunken fit, they should take some se-
" vere revenges?—If I am rightly informed, the
" like abuses of the traders in New England
" were the principal causes of the Indian wars
" there."*—Nor does the complaint stop with the governor of Pennsylvania; the assembly, upon receiving the message, proceed to examine " papers and evidences about Indian affairs," and then " bewail the miserable situation of our " Indian trade, carried on (some few excepted) " by the vilest of our own inhabitants, and con-
" victs imported from Great Britain and Ire-
" land, by which means the English nation is
" unhappily represented among our Indian al-
" lies in the most disagreeable manner. These," they continue, " trade without control, either " beyond the limits, or, at least, beyond the " power of our laws; debauching the Indians " and themselves with spiritous liquors, which " they now make, in a great measure, the prin-
" cipal article of their trade, in direct violation

* Ibid. page 55.

" of our laws, supplied, as we are informed, " by some of the magistrates who hold a com- " mission under this government, and other in- " habitants of our back counties."*

In 1753, at a council held at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, where the Indians were met by commissioners from the government, after desiring the commissioners to give strict attention to what they were going to say, as being a matter of great moment, they proceeded to take notice, " That our Indian traders are too nume- " rous and scattered; that the French look to " their number *at Ohio* with envy; they, there- " fore, desired that the greatest part of them " might be called home, and that three sets on- " ly might remain at the places which they had " appointed for their residence, *viz.* Log's " Town, the mouth of Canawa, and the mouth " of the Monongahela, where they would protect " them, and to these places they would go and " buy goods, and no where else." This was what, continues the writer, the Indians had had long in view. They were sensible of their own weakness, and immoderate desire of strong drink, by which they exposed themselves to many abuses and inconveniences. They had frequently complained to the English government, and desired

* Ibid. p. 77. Message to the Governor, Feb. 27, 1754.

that some measures might be taken to prevent liquors being carried among them in such quantities, but nothing was done to purpose: they were told, indeed, they might break the casks, and spill all the liquor that was brought among them, but this they found by experience would not do: the *rum-carriers*, as they called the traders, found means to elude this. As long, therefore, as these persons were permitted to go into their country, they saw clearly that no remedies could be found out, to prevent the evil they complained of. For this reason, in 1736, they desired the traders might be recalled from the Ohio, and confined to some one place on the Susquehannah: at the subsequent treaties, they renewed this request, and now fix upon three places for the traders to reside, and request that none but honest and sober men may be suffered to deal with them. Had this been complied with, the English might easily have engrossed the trade, and secured the affections of many of the Indian nations; whereas, by neglecting this, and suffering a parcel of banditti, under the character of traders, to run up and down, from one Indian town to another, cheating and debauching the Indians, we have given them an ill opinion of our religion and manners, and lost their esteem and friendship. With what earnestness the Indians desired to have the trade re-

gulated, may be seen from the speech of the Indian chief to the commissioners: "Your traders," says he, "bring scarce any thing but "rum and flower: they bring little powder and "lead, or other valuable goods. The rum "ruins us. We beg you would prevent its "coming in such quantities by regulating the "traders. We never understood the trade was "to be for whiskey and flower. We desire it "may be forbidden, and none sold in the Indian country; but, that if the Indians will "have any, they may go among the inhabitants, "and deal with them for it. When these whiskey-traders come, they bring thirty or forty kegs, "and put them down before us, and make us "drink, and get all the skins that should go to "pay the debts we have contracted for goods "bought of the fair traders; and by this means "we not only ruin ourselves, but them too. "These wicked whiskey-sellers, when they "have got the Indians in liquor, make them sell "the very clothes from their backs. In short, "if this practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly, therefore, beseech you to remedy it."*

"No doubt," it is subjoined, "the critical conjuncture of affairs, the solicitations

* Ibid. page 76.

" and promises of the French, together with the
" success that had hitherto attended their arms,
" might induce the Indians to fall upon the En-
" glish at this particular time, as being the
" most favourable opportunity of taking re-
" venge: but still the wrongs and abuses they
" had suffered were what inflamed their resent-
" ment, and, as they say themselves, made the
" blow fall the heavier. And, if we examine,
" we shall find that the several neighbouring na-
" tions, as they have imagined themselves more
" or less aggrieved, have shown their resent-
" ment by acting more or less vigorously against
" us. The several tribes of the Delawares,
" who were deprived of their lands, and driven
" from their homes and settlements in the Forks,
" and so ignominiously treated and expelled the
" council, and above all the Munseys or Mini-
" sink Indians, whose lands were taken from
" them without any shadow of justice, now took
" a severe revenge. The Shawanese, who had,
" with others, complained in vain of the traders,
" who saw themselves deprived first of their hunt-
" ing-ground on the Juniata, afterwards of their
" whole country by the purchase in 1754, were
" not much behind the former in their cruel in-
" cursions. The backwardness of the Senecas
" to accommodate the difference, and heal the
" breach when once made; or rather the encou-

" ragement and support they gave the Indians " who declared themselves our enemies, may " easily be attributed to their resentment at see- " ing the lands westward of the Kittochtinny " Hills, which they considered as more particu- " larly under their care, unjustly invaded; their " complaints and remonstrances little regarded; " and, lastly, the great purchase in 1754 made " without their consent and approbation."*— Of another sale or grant, made in 1742, " In " what manner," he tells us, " and by what " means this grant was obtained, is well known " to some who attended the treaty, as well as the " artifices used for near a week, to induce the " Indians to execute the deed."†

But, among traders and settlers, are not unfrequently to be reckoned the colonial magistrates and commissioners themselves; and accordingly we see the Indians cheated and oppressed, now by private offenders, and now by public ones. Sometimes whole countries were obtained at the expense of the character and resources of the government; and sometimes petty farms, by petty villanies.

When, at Easton, in 1756, an Indian chief, complaining of grievances, was called upon by the governor to explain what the grievances

* Ibid. page 82. † Ibid. page 78.

were, he replied, " I have not far to go for an " instance; this ground that is under me " (stamping with his foot) is mine, and has " been taken from me by fraud and forgery."— The governor asked him what he meant by *fraud* and *forgery;* and he replied, " When " one man had formerly liberty to purchase " lands, and he took a deed from the Indians " for it, and then dies, if, after his death, his " children forge a deed like the true one, with " the same Indians' names to it, and thereby " take lands from the Indians which they never " sold, *this is fraud.* Also, when one king " has lands beyond the river, and another has " lands on this side, both bounded by rivers, " creeks and springs, which cannot be moved, " and the proprietaries, greedy to purchase lands, " buy of one king what belongs to the other, " *this likewise is fraud.*"—" Have you," said the governor, " been served so?"—" Yes," replied Teedyuscung, " I have been served so, in " this province. All the land extending from " Tohiccon over the great mountain, as far as " Wyomen, is mine, of which some has been " taken from me by fraud. For, when I agreed " to sell the land to the old proprietary *by the* " *course of the river*, the young proprietaries " came, and got it run by a straight course *by the*

" *compass*, and by that means took in double the " quantity intended to be sold."

There were other ways, too, of defrauding the Indians, than by forgery, or by measuring by the compass what was bought by the course of a river. Lands were sometimes to be measured by *walks* performed against time; and the walks were fraudulently performed. In 1742, the deputies of the Six Nations " had been at Phila- " delphia, and sold the lands on the Susquehan- " nah, for which they had received a quantity of " goods, and besides a considerable present. At " this time considerable complaints were made " to them against the Delawares, for giving the " province disturbance about lands, which, as " was said, the proprietor had purchased from " them, and paid for, above fifty-five years ago. " On their return home, the deputies, loaded with " presents, passed through the Delaware coun- " try; and the next spring some of the Dela- " wares came down, and signed the release men- " tioned above. As the land granted by this " release was to be measured by a day and a " half's walk, the proprietor got men noted for " walking, had a road prepared and laid out with " the compass, and horses provided to carry " them over rivers; by which means they were " enabled to travel over a prodigious extent of " country. Nor was the extent of the purchase

" determined by the journey, which the two " men performed who were first fixed on, but " by that of another, who knowing himself " capable of performing a great journey, had, " in order to ingratiate himself with the pro- " prietor, joined the other two, and travelled " about six miles further than any of them. " And, what is still more, from the end of the " walk, instead of drawing a line by the nearest " course, to the river Delaware, or parallel to " that from which they set out, they run a north- " east course to near the mouth of the Lecha- " wachsein, and by this means the boundary- " line was carried many miles beyond the Le- " chay hills, and took in many hundred thousand " acres more than it ought to have done. The " Indians immediately saw, and complained of " the fraud."*

In 1742, also, the deputies of the Five, afterward Six Nations, complained of settlements made upon their lands, and were told by the governor, that " some magistrates were sent expressly to " remove them, and he thought no persons " would presume to stay after that."—Here they interrupted the governor, and said, " These " persons, who were sent do not do their du- " ty; so far from removing the people, they " made surveys for themselves, and they are in " league with the trespassers: we desire more

* Ibid. page 70.

" effectual methods may be used, and honester " men employed."*—Laws were always in existence against the sale of liquor to the Indians; but the magistrates were among those that sold it.

The view that these various extracts are adapted to suggest, as to the origin of the wars, animosities and discontents, between the colonists and the Indians, is precisely coincident with that presented by a professed apologist of the United States, who, in resisting the severer imputations of the Abbé Raynal, to the prejudice of New England, employs language directly to the point: " It frequently happened," says he " that some of our settlers on the " frontiers, become at least as much of sa- " vages as the natural inhabitants of the country, " and retaining at the same time all the knavery " of civilized society, deported themselves in " a manner the most unjustifiable; and from this " cause there resulted cruel and inevitable " wars."—*Il est arrivé plusieurs fois que quelques-uns des nôtres, qui habitaient sur les frontières, devenus aussi sauvage pour le moins que les naturels du pays, et conservant toute la méchanceté des nations civilsées, se comportaient de la manière la plus indigne, ensorte q'il résultait delà des guerres cruelles et inévitables.*†

* Ibid. page 50.

† Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur les Etats-Unis, &c. Par un Citoyen de Virgine. Partie Troisième. A Paris, 1788.

At this time,* there is, in the neighbourhood of Lake Michigan, an Indian, called by his followers the *manito*, and by the white people the *prophet*, and who is a religious, moral and political teacher, pretending to inspiration. The prophet, among his other tenets and denunciations, has expressed himself to the disadvantage of the subjects of the United States; and this circumstance has given occasion for one of the principal newspapers† to make insinuations against Great Britain, upon a subject of alarm with which it seems to be judged convenient, once in each month, to disturb and irritate the public mind; namely, pretended efforts of hers, to excite the Indians to animosities against the United States. The paper alluded to introduces with the following comments a recital of a discourse or message of the prophet's, delivered at L'Arbre Croche, near the mouth of Lake Michigan: "In the following curious *talk*, "we think we perceive a new evidence of "*British amity!* as well as what we may expect "from our *friends* on the frontiers. Americans "alone are considered as objects of hatred by "the Great Spirit; and no ardent spirits, forsooth, are to be drank by the Indians, except "such as come from Montreal! It is impossi-

* In 1807. † The National Intelligencer.

" ble to view such extravagance as flowing from " the unprejudiced mind of the savage; it can " only be ascribed to the interested views of " a foreign trading-company, or to the in- " structions or countenance of the government " from which that company emanates."

Possessed, as the reader now is, of the sentiments entertained by the Indians, in regard to the colonists, through a period of nearly two hundred years, and possessed as he also is of some clew to the foundation of those sentiments, it will probably appear less extravagant to him, than to the writer here quoted, that the *Americans*, that is, the subjects of the United States, should be described by the prophet as hated of the Great Spirit: he will probably see no impossibility in viewing such language as flowing from the *unprejudiced* mind of the savage; and, moreover, his chief perplexity will spring out of the language of the commentator, who, after all that he has seen and heard, or all that he ought to have seen and heard, is really so innocent as to suppose that the savage, left to himself, *is unprejudiced* against the subjects of the United States!

That some prejudices, in this direction, more or less grave, and with more or less foundation, have long haunted, and do continue to haunt the mind of the savage, is what the pages immediately preceding will have scarcely failed to satis-

fy us; and, in turning to the discourse of the prophet, we shall see nothing more than a new link to the chain of proofs, in no respect different from those it follows. The prophet assumes, as it may be proper to observe, to speak in the person of the Great Spirit, as delivering his message; and, this premised, I shall transcribe the words that contain the sentiment principally offensive:

" My children," he begins, " you are to have " very little intercourse with the whites; they " are not your fathers, as you style them, but " your brethren: I am your father: when " you call me so you do well: I am the " father of the English, of the French, of the " Spaniards and of the Indians. I created the " first man, who was the common father of all " these people, as well as of yourselves; and it " is through him, whom I have awaked from " his long sleep, that I now address you. But " the *Americans* I did not make: they are not " my children; but the children of the evil " spirit: they grew from the scum of the great " water, when it was troubled by an evil spirit, " and the froth was driven into the woods by a " strong east wind. They are numerous; but I " hate them: *they are unjust; they have taken away* " *your lands*, which were not made for them."*

* Substance of a Talk delivered at Le Maiouitinong, [Manitouanong?—but the place was L'Arbre Croche,

But, the comment that we have read is remarkable, not only for discovering ignorance upon many topics with which it is very pardonable, even in a government gazette-writer, not to be acquainted, but also for a want of attention to the intrinsic evidence of the text, or else a disposition to mislead the world, by a very disingenuous gloss. The real views and feelings of the prophet are betrayed, even in the first line of the passage above transcribed; but they are made still more manifest in the subse-

at the entrance of Lake Michigan, by the Indian chief, Le Maigous, [Naigoos] or the Trout, on the 5th of May, 1807. *National Intelligencer.*—The prophet is represented as not always using language of so much solemnity; that of the white people, in his neighbourhood, sometimes serving his turn. An article, in a late Lexington newspaper, (Kentucky,) commencing with the observation, that intelligence of considerable importance had been received, relates, that nine hundred Indians had assembled at Grenville, on Mud River, in the territory of Ohio. It then adds, " *The colonel of that part* went to them, for the purpose " of ascertaining their object and numbers. The In- " dians refused to give him any satisfaction on the sub- " ject. He then went to the *prophet*, and told him, that " if *he* did not, he should inform the government of " his country. He (the prophet) replied, 'I care not a " 'd---n for the government of your country; I can blow " 'you off the earth, like sand from my hand.'"

quent parts of the discourse. The prophet's object is strictly patriotic, and pursued in equal contempt of the United States and of Great Britain. It is no other than the rescue of the Indians from universal ruin; and, had he risen two centuries ago, it is within human probability that he might have succeeded; but he is too late; his mission languishes, and it must ultimately fail. His mission, that is, his undertaking, is, as a moralist and divine, to reform the manners of his countrymen, and recall them to their ancient religion; and as a politician to break through their attachments to the whites, and to wean them from the commerce into which they have entered, and from the European goods to which they are now accustomed:—in a word, to make them, as he expressly says, *a separate people*, that so they may become *a great people*. What he calls for therefore is, the ancient faith and modes of life, the ancient costume and ancient purity of manners; and how much he would be entitled to promise himself from his efforts, were his primary object attainable, may be seen from the testimony of a practical writer, than whom few, upon this subject, can be more entitled to the profoundest deference: "They (the Kinisteneaux Indians) "have been called thieves; but when that "vice can with justice be attributed to them, it "may be traced to their connection with the

" civilized people who come into their country " to traffic."*

It is therefore against the white people generally, and not against the subjects of this or that particular power, that the prophet publishes his denunciations and commands: " You must not " dress like the whites," says he, " nor wear hats " like them; but pluck out your hair, as in an- " cient times, and wear the feather of the eagle " on your heads; and, when the weather is not " severe, you must go naked, excepting the *as-* " *sian ;*† and, when you are clothed, it must be in " *skins*, or in leather *of your own dressing*."‡

But, is it to be supposed that this system, this anti-commercial and prohibitory system, or the prophet inculcating this system, are in unison with the *interested views* of any *foreign trading-company*, any trading-company interested in the Indian fur-trade? The company intended by the gazette-writer is one, or perhaps both of the two companies engaged in the fur-trade in Montreal; but, so far is the prophet from de-meaning himself according to their *interested*

* Mackenzie's Voyages.

" † A strip of cloth or leather, about a foot wide, and " five feet long, whose ends are drawn inwards, and " hang behind and before, over a belt tied round the " waist for that purpose." *Mackenzie's Voyages.*

‡ National Intelligencer.

views, that he is actually the object of their unqualified reproach; and that one of them, the South West or Michilimackinac Company, attributes a part of the difficulties, with which it has had to struggle, to his appearance among the Indians; and that the other has experienced some defalcation of its revenues from the same source. Whatever wrongs or sufferings the South West Company may complain of, at the hands of the United States, (and it complains of many,) it has not the smallest inclination to seek a champion in the prophet, nor the smallest feeling of good will, toward either him or his doctrines. What he calls making the Indians religious, it calls making them lazy; what he calls withdrawing them from commerce, it calls making them mad; and what he calls forbidding them to part with sugar and meat and skins that God never made for the white people, it calls teaching them to be dishonest, and to leave their debts unpaid.

But, the entire hostility to the white people and their traffic is too conspicuous, throughout the whole discourse, not to force itself on our regard. It is the welfare, the morals and the perpetuation of the Indians that occupy all his thoughts:—"My children," he continues, "you "complain that the animals are few and scatter-"ed!—How should it be otherwise? You de-

" stroy them yourselves, for their skins only,* " and leave their bodies to rot, or give† the best " pieces to the *whites*. I am displeased when " I see this, and take them back to the earth,‡ " that they may not come to you again. You " must kill no more animals than are necessary " to feed and clothe you; and you are to keep " but one dog; because, by keeping too many, " you starve them.—My children, your women " must not live with the traders, unless they are " lawfully married. But I do not like even " this; because my white and my red children " were thus marked with different colours, that " they might be each *a separate people*."

What, however, demonstrates, in the clearest manner, the greatness of the prophet's enterprise, and its total want of connection with any foreign system of policy, commercial or political, is an injunction that follows all the above, and which is communicated in these terms: " You are no " more to dance the *wabano*, nor the *poigan* or " pipe-dance; I did not put you on the earth to " dance these dances: but you are to dance naked, " with your bodies painted, and with the *pio-* " *ganu* (war-club) in your hands."—A very

* *i. e.* for purposes of commerce.

† *i. e. part with* in commerce.

‡ Or rather, *send* them back *into* the earth.

humble share of acquaintance with the history of the Indians of North America, will enable us to discover in these words, that the prophet desires, not only to restrain his followers from the corruptions introduced by the white people, but from those also that have been introduced by foreign, and as he doubtlessly expresses it, idolatrous and heathen Indians.

The *wabamo-dance* (*wabamo*, a mirror) is to be interpreted the *mirror-dance*, and may therefore imply commerce, the mirrors used in the dance being obtained from the traders; but the *poigan*, *poagan*, pipe or calumet-dance is a dance introduced from among Indians of the south, and of very late adoption in the north. It appears expressly from Charlevoix, that the *calumet*, that is, the *poagan*, was not known in Canada till many years after the colonization of that country by the French; that is, till after the trade and the wars of the French colonists had led to an intercourse between the nations of the Saint Lawrence and of the Illinois and Mississippi. In relating the particulars of an Indian council, convened in the year 1645 at Trois Rivières, and at which there were present Algonquins, Hurons and Iroquois, and after mentioning that the middle of the council-tent was left vacant, to the end that the Indians might freely indulge in the gesticulations that accompany their ora-

tory he takes occasion to add this remark, that "among the western nations, it was the usage "to plant the *grand calumet* or a ceremonial pipe "in the midst of such a council; a usage," he continues, "that is sometimes practised among "those of Canada; for since, on our account, "all these nations have had an increased in- "tercourse with each other, they have recipro- "cally borrowed several usages, and *the North- "ern Indians that of the calumet*, which *they now* "commonly introduce at their councils."*

But, the manuscript of a Jesuit missionary has supplied me with some further information on this point. Its contents, while they throw a degree of additional light on the general history of the *poagan* or calumet-dance, supply with more precision the date of its introduction on the Saint-Lawrence, and into New England. The manuscript, which was written at Saint-Français, in the year 1734, and which I found in the hands of Mr. Joseph Anance, of that village, is entitled, *Histoire du Calumet et De la Danse.—En* 1744, *par le R. P. Jaques Le Sueur, à S. Français de Sales, Riv. Arsiganteg'*.—The error of the date indorsed appears in the body of the manuscript.—The river Arsiganteg' or Alsiguntiquoke, is the river commonly called the Saint-

* Charlevoix, Hist. Gen. liv. vi. (Paris, 1744.)

Français. Its Indian name implies a *deserted river*, or river whose banks are left a solitude; and was given to the Saint-Français, because the village on its banks was left a solitude during the hunting-season.

From this record it appears, that the calumet-dance was attempted, but unsuccessfully, to be introduced about the year 1701. In 1719, a calumet was secretly sent to the village by the Renards, otherwise called Otagamies, and who live south of Lake Michigan. In the village, it was kept in concealment for an entire year; but, in 1720, the *calumet dance* made its appearance. The missionaries uniformly regarded it as a foreign and horrible abomination, belonging to the southern and western countries, and not to Canada.

The calumet or pipe, of which the bowl is necessarily the principal member, is a sacred vessel, and the calumet-dance is a sacred rite: *c'était une vrai culte de la réligion*, says the missionary;—and when its proselytes, at Saint-Français, were exhorted to refrain from it, they defended it, comparing it with the Procession of the Host:—"*On a entendu dans cette Mission,* "*des jeunes gens, se disposant à cette danse,* "*dire à ceux qui les avertissaient de ne le pas* "*faire, 'Pourquoi voulez-vous nous empêcher* "*'de faire ce qui nous faisons? C'est comme si*

" '*nous faisons un procession du Saint-Sacre-*
" '*ment.*' "

It is not necessary to inquire, in this place, to what system of religion the calumet and the dance belong. It is enough that we know them to belong to a religion foreign to the Algonquin nations, in order to account for the prophet's regarding them with disgust, equally with the missionaries of Saint-Français. The prophet is an Algonquin, and founds his story, as appears in the discourse before us, upon the religious creed of the Algonquins. He calls himself *the first-created man;* that is, Mishabû, (the Great Hare,) whose former visits to his children are familiar to the old traditions: " I looked round the " world," says he, " and saw that my red chil- " dren were greatly degenerated; that they had " become scattered and miserable. When I saw " this, I was grieved on their account, and asked " leave of the Great Spirit to come, and see if I " could reclaim them. If you hearken to my " counsel, and follow my instructions, at the end " of four years there will be two days of dark- " ness, during which I shall travel unseen " through the land, and cause the animals, such " as they were formerly, *when I created them,* " to come forth out of the earth." But Mishabû created men and the animals; and with the system dependent on the name of Mishabû the

calumet-dance has no connection. That dance, therefore, is a foreign one among the Algonquins, and its practice is inconsistent with the attempt to make them a *separate people*.

In the spirit of political jealousy, we might discover, from the prophet's prohibition of the calumet-dance, a still deeper plot than either that of the British cabinet, or of the Canada trading-companies; for the manuscript expressly has it, that the calumet-dance is in hostility to the *French* interest in North America!—"*Le mis-*"*sionaire peut assurer avec sureté, que tous ceux* "*qui sont le plus déclarés pour cette danse, les uns* "*sont très-corrompus dans les mœurs, les autres* "*n'ont point de réligion; et qu'aucun d'eux n'est* "*attaché aux Français.*"—This point, however, is without difficulty explained. The French interest in North America depended upon the success of the missionaries, but the *calumet-dance* impeded the success of the missionaries, and therefore impeded the French interest. Father Le Sueur, having declared to an Indian of Saint-Français, "That this idolatrous "dance and the Christian religion could not sub-"sist together, but that a choice must be made, "and the one taken and the other left, was coolly "and resolutely answered, 'Since the two things "'are incompatible, we must hold in prefer-"'ence to the calumet-dance.'"—"*Aussi le*

" *missionaire n'a point été surpris, lorsqu'au*
" *rétour des Abenakis de Montreal, déclarant au*
" *chêf de la conjuration, que la réligion chrêti-*
" *enne et cette danse idolatrique ne pouvaient sub-*
" *sister ensemble, qu'il fallait choisir l'une ou*
" *l'autre, il entendit le sauvage lui repondre*
" *froidement et resolument. ' Puisque ces deux*
" ' *choses sont incompatibles il faut donc rétenir*
" ' *préferablement la danse du calumet.*' "

Such then is the prophet; but let us now look for the true grounds of the favour indulged to the English, in allowing them a common parentage with the Indians. Why it is refused to the subjects of the United States has I think sufficiently appeared, not only in the historical facts, the testimonies of which are here placed in the reader's view, but even in the very midst of the obnoxious expressions; but, why it is allowed to the English, that is, why the English in Canada should be in esteem with the Indians, while the English in the colonies, now the United States, are at the time present, as they have been always in time past, the objects of their detestation, may, at a first view, appear inexplicable. I shall observe in passing, that how gracious soever the prophet is to the English, he is not more so to them, than to the French and to the Spaniards.

The true grounds are unquestionably to be looked for, first, in the conduct observed toward the Indians by the British government; secondly, in the system of the Indian trade in Canada; and, thirdly, in local and adventitious circumstances.

1. Of the government. With the exception of a very small number of Indians, living among the settlements in Canada, and even to whom the remark that follows is in great measure applicable, the Indians have no species of connection with the British government, but as the objects of its favours and gratuities. The government purchases none of their lands, and therefore its agents cannot defraud them in the purchase. These considerations had in regard, it would indeed be matter of surprise if the Indians were not friendly to the government; but it can be no such matter that they are.

2. But the government and its agents may be just, and at same time the subjects of the government may be otherwise: in particular, as it respects the Indians, they may be unjust in matters of trade. Let us take, therefore, into the account, the Indian trade in Canada. This is conducted by great companies, employing great capitals, and having permanent seats of trade, and permanent interests in the trade. Is it presuma-

ble upon theory, that under such a system, the frauds to which petty traders have so many temptations are likely to be committed? To place this question in only one of the many aspects under which it is susceptible of examination, let us simply consider the immense difference in the results of fraud or robbery, as committed by the agents or administrators of a permanent establishment, and as committed by a temporary trader. A fraud or robbery may be often committed, and the offender may escape before it is discovered, or, if it is discovered, he may fly; he may bring away with him his booty, and his achievement is then happily completed. But, what would be the situation of a permanent establishment, in the result of a corresponding practice? an establishment which annually commits its property, and the lives of a great part of those most interested in it, to the absolute disposal of the Indians; which has large outstanding debts among the Indians; which looks continually forward to increased connections with them, and in which it would be madness to risk the esteem of those with whom it is already connected; which, in a word, has no means of supporting itself, no adequate foundations of strength, but in unimpeachable character, in honesty, in veracity, in a punctual observance of the minutest engagements, and even in forbear-

ance and bounty? If this were not at least the general complexion of such an establishment, how could it support itself? And how little resemblance there is, between such a picture, and the picture of a trade otherwise conducted, we have abundant means of information!

3. Lands, however, and not furs and peltries, are the objects most frequently mentioned, in all the murmurs of the Indians; and the question of lands belongs to that third cause of preference of the English which I have attributed to local and adventitious circumstances. The frontier population of the United States is, what the prophet describes it to be, numerous; the frontier population of Canada is nothing. Lake Huron spreads itself between the settlements in Canada and the Indians; and there is not even a solitary settlement on the Canadian shores of Lake Huron; there can, therefore, be no collision between the colonists of Canada and the Indians here in contemplation.

The sum, then, is this, that the Indians have no occasion of complaint against either the Government, the Traders, or the Settlers of Canada, while their intercourse with the Government, Traders and Settlers of the United States, is of a nature, if not to justify, at least to give occasion for complaint against all the three. Of all the three, there is the least reason to believe *à*

priori that the government is really in fault; but, as I have before suggested, it is of small amount, upon this question, that the government is just; the interest and the character of a nation and government may be ruined by the conduct of worthless traders, and other worthless adventurers. We have seen it made the apology of the colonists, in the earlier periods of their history, that the unjustifiable deportment of frontier settlers, become at least as savage as the natural inhabitants, and retaining all the knavery of civilized society, gave the occasion to wars and animosities; and a similar apology is equally valid, and equally necessary, for their history in the present day. We hear still of Indian murders on the frontiers; but it is rarely permitted us to learn the occasion, nor in what degree these pretended *murders* may assume the aspect of just, frank and honourable hostilities. It was never accounted dishonourable in any people to meet invaders with the sword.

CHAPTER LIX.

Massachusetts—Boston—Literature.

BOSTON and its vicinity are well entitled to encomium, not only for the love of knowledge and of letters that pervades a great proportion of their inhabitants, but for positive individual attainments.

In matters of literature and liberal knowledge, a striking difference discovers itself, between the pursuits of Boston and those of Connecticut. Of the turn of genius in Connecticut, the poetical extracts contained in a preceding chapter afford something like a general view. A spirit of research characterizes Boston; a spirit of raillery, Connecticut. Boston discovers less absorption in religious matters, and at the same time a less lively fancy.* Connecticut (if my recollection is not deceived) has produced nearly all the native poets of the United States.

* The Connecticut Mirror, a newspaper mentioned in a former note, as recently established, bids fair to display a gay and genteel raillery on party-topics, that is generally unknown to the other newspapers of the United States.

Connecticut boasts of two epics, the Conquest of Canaan and the Columbiad, and a mock epic, MacFingal; not to mention numerous smaller poems; but I am unacquainted with the name of a single poet, in all Massachusetts, who, to speak in loose terms, has written a poem of more than a hundred verses. Connecticut, on the other hand, discovers but small regard for subjects of polite research, and almost none for science. Professor Silliman's efforts, at Yale College, are novelties, and accord less with the habits of Connecticut, than with those of Boston. A Philosophical Grammar of the English Language, and a small Dictionary, have been published by Mr. Noah Webster, Junior; and the same writer proposes to himself the arduous task of producing a complete English Dictionary. The late Dr. Edwards produced, it is also to be acknowledged, a work of much reputation in metaphysics; Connecticut has also given birth to two historians of herself;* but in any other branch of historical research she has been inactive: in the profession of the law, she has men of genius and solid study; but their solid study is generally professional. In divinity, volumes, tracts and single sermons ap-

* Dr. Samuel Peters, author of a General History of Connecticut, and Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, author of a Complete History of Connecticut.

pear frequently in Boston; in Connecticut, very rarely. The same observation is applicable to pamphlets in politics and political economy. In Boston, there is an Academy of Arts and Sciences, that has done but little; but, in Connecticut, there is an Academy of Arts and Sciences, that appears to have done nothing.* Indeed, in looking over the list of the Connecticut members, some further explanation may be found; for, with a vain view to multiplying friends, an assemblage of names is there brought together, of many of which it may be suspected, that their bearers had infinite-

* One of the members has communicated a very interesting paper, on the Language of the Mohéagan, or as he calls them, Muhhekanew Indians; and it is much to be wished that he were encouraged, at least by the thanks of his countrymen, to pursue a subject, for the illustration of which, both from the account that he gives us of his long and early acquaintance with a village of these Indians, and the critical knowledge that he discovers of it, he appears to be eminently capable. But this paper has come into the world only as a pamphlet of a single sheet, published, not by, but *at the request of* the Academy. See *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekanew Indians, &c. By Jonathan Edwards, D. D. Pastor of a Church in Newhaven, and Member of the Connecticut Society of Arts and Sciences. New York*, 1801.

ly rather see their lucubrations in the hands of the common-hangman, than see them stitched between the same covers with those of their associates.

Some works of research and labour have appeared in Boston, at the head of which ought to be placed Dr. Holmes's American Annals, a book compiled with equal diligence and judgment. The mechanical execution of the edition, printed at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, in 1805, is particularly creditable to the press from which it issued. Dr. Morse's labours, in the geography and topography of the United States, are also entitled to much praise. They contain many erroneous statements; but the author has been obliged to depend upon such accounts as he could procure. Dr. Cutler, in a late edition of the American Universal Geography, has supplied a valuable compendium of the natural history of the United States, correcting several of the mistakes that have long been persisted in among his fellow-countrymen, by more celebrated names. The Reverend Mr. Harris has published an account of a tour on the Ohio. The Historical Society has published ten small volumes of Collections; and the Society for Promoting Agriculture has published more than one volume of agricultural researches, in part selected, but in part original.

Boston has several active promoters of scientific inquiries and general knowledge, among whom are the persons that have been mentioned as the founders of the Athenæum.

More than one periodical publication is printed in Boston, and sustained by original communications, political, religious and literary.* The most important of these is a magazine and review, entitled The Monthly Anthology, or Boston Review, of which the criticism and great part of the remaining contents are original, and are almost always distinguished by sound opinions and sound taste. The editors sometimes indulge in lighter labours; but they are chiefly to be distinguished as the champions of genuine learning and rational piety. In conjunction with the editor of another miscellany, the Port Folio, printed at Philadelphia, they are to be considered as the courageous supporters of solid principles, in letters, polity and religion, against that march of barbarism by which all are threatened to be trampled down. The Monthly Anthology has in one view peculiar claim to applause for the magnanimity of its darings. It dares to storm with

* In the American Register for 1807, Philadelphia, 1808, it is said that there are one or two religious periodical publications, printed in Connecticut; but this appears to be a mistake.

equal vigour and equal contempt of danger, the strong holds of ancient bigotry and fanaticism, and of modern presumption and philosophism. It execrates, or it derides, alternately the cant and the pretensions of visionaries old and new.

With no less intrepidity, and with respectability of talent, another writer of Massachusetts has breasted the mid-strength of the torrent of public opinion in the United States, asserting the cause of hereditary rank, and calling for an *executive authority* and a senate, that shall be free from dependence on the people. This is Mr. John Adams, lately President of the United States, and who, in the year 1790, published a series of essays, directed to these ends, entitled Discourses on Davila. Mr. Adams has been uniformly the enemy of Great Britain, whether before or since the revolution in the United States; but this circumstance has not prevented him from doing justice to her constitution of government, of which, in his postscript to his Discourses on Davila, he presents a concise, but historical and practical view; in concluding that postscript, he pronounces this conditional prediction, concerning the fortunes of the United States:—"If the people have not "understanding and public virtue enough, and "will not be persuaded of the necessity, of sup-"porting an independent executive authority,

" an independent senate and an independent ju-
" diciary power, as well as an independent
" house of representatives, all pretensions to a
" balance of power are lost, and with them all
" hopes of security to our dearest interests; all
" hopes of liberty."

This is a work which ought to be in the hands of every native of the United States, but which, on the contrary, is, I believe, in those of few. For popular use, it is perhaps injured by the basis on which it is constructed, that of Italian history; but, be this as it may, there is reason to fear that the author has flattered himself too much, even in the single point, which in the complaint that appears upon his title-page, he supposes to be gained:

" Truths would you teach, to save a sinking land,
" *All read*, none aid you, and few understand!"

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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